

**THE INSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES OF THE
APPROVED SCHOOLS IN SOUTHERN
NIGERIA AND SWEDEN**
A Comparative Approach

Revised 1975

NDIDI CHIBOGU

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FOREWORD

Sheer curiosity led me to the survey of the Approved Schools and Remand Homes in Nigeria.¹⁾ I have sometimes over-heard mothers threatening their so-called difficult children with placement at the juvenile institutions if they refused to mend their ways. There was even an erroneous belief held by some people in the community that these "difficult" children sent to the institutions received some number of lashes each before sitting down to any of the three major meals of the day.

I therefore decided that if the opportunity ever presented itself, I was going to explore what went on within the fences and walls. How difficult are these children really? What had made some of them difficult? How did the pupils view their institutionalisation, and how did they react to it? How did the staff and the general public perceive the children who have been institutionalised? What measures have the institutions adopted towards the reformation and the rehabilitation of the pupils admitted into them?

The institutions will be structurally and functionally analysed with a view to finding answers to the questions above. The term, "institutional processes," which are the operative words in the title of this dissertation, indicates a structural-functional approach, and could be defined as the emergence, objectives, strategies, perspectives, and functions of the institutions.

The thesis will be divided into ten chapters. In chapter 1, a brief and general treatment of crime and punishment in traditional societies is given.

1) Since the social structures in Southern and Northern Nigeria are dissimilar in many ways, I have decided to exclude the North in this study. So, all through the thesis, Nigeria is used to stand for Southern Nigeria.

Chapter 2 deals with the emergence of juvenile institutions in Nigeria, gives a short account of juvenile courts, and discusses some dispositional measures. The law as it affects children and young persons in Nigeria is briefly treated.

Chapter 3 takes up the field-work and methodological discussion. Among the topics discussed in the chapter are the criteria which guided the selection of the institutions; approaches used in data collection; problems encountered in the survey; reactions of different Nigerian respondent groups to the survey; and the national and cross-national comparative design.

In chapter 4, some background information about the institutions, the staff, and the pupils will be presented in outline.

Chapter 5 takes up the discussion of theories of juvenile delinquency in Nigeria. These include urbanisation, deprivation, high parental expectations as to school achievement, disorganised families, poor relationships between pupils and their step-mothers, and differential association. I will be arguing that each theory offers a necessary, but not a sufficient explanation for juvenile delinquency in Nigeria. Therefore, the theory of multiple causation will be adopted.

Chapter 6 is concerned with the objectives and strategies of the institutions. The objectives of the institutions in both Nigeria and Sweden are seen to be similar. In Nigeria, the stated objectives of the institutions are the observation, care or protection, reformation, and rehabilitation of the pupils. In Sweden, the Youth Welfare Schools are for the care, upbringing and education of certain children and young people who have been taken care of by the Child Welfare Boards. Of the strategies adopted by the institutions to achieve the stated objectives, vocational training is given a detailed treatment because, particularly for the Nigerian Vocational School pupils, it was seen as a useful and popular strategy.

Chapter 7 is devoted to the informal social relationships at the institutions. I will be showing in this chapter that there was a high re-

of loyalty and solidarity among the pupils of the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria and Sweden and among those of the Remand Homes. Further-more, that at the Nigerian institutions, the staff-inmate split often thought to be present at total institutions did not exist. The social distance between the staff and the pupils was not great. However, at the Swedish Schools, the relationships between the staff and pupils were not very close.

Chapter 8 examines the social control at the institutions. In Nigeria, use was made of a triple compliance structure which embraced coercive, utilitarian, and normative powers. The formal mechanisms of social control at all the institutions included positive and negative sanctions. Swedish Schools made more use of the non-physical forms of punishment. At the Nigerian institutions, corporal punishment was applied more often than any of the other types of negative sanctions discussed in the chapter. Corporal punishment will be given a detailed treatment because it is still used at the ordinary schools in the dominant society and at the pupils' homes. The roles of the informal agents and agencies of social control at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools are ventilated. The prefectship system, the "Boys' Council," and the Dormitory or House system fostered self-government among the boys. Through a system of collaboration, the staff utilised the services of the pupil-elite (the prefects) in the control and supervision of the other pupils, thereby easing to some extent the work-loads of the staff.

Chapter 9 will deal with the negative institutional influences. Research has shown that in most cases, the inmates of correctional institutions are institutionally influenced negatively. In this chapter, two of the negative institutional effects, i.e. stigmatisation and homosexuality will be treated in fairly great detail; stigmatisation because it is a negative influence which might be felt by the pupil long after he has left the institution, and homosexuality because; in the first place, if continued in the larger society by the pupil, it might lead to his being labelled, and secondly, because I will be arguing that its occurrence at all the Youth Welfare Schools for boys in Nigeria might cause some concern since most people in the dominant society still view it with repugnance. The

chapter ended with the observation that the institutions in Nigeria had certain traditions which did not seem to reflect the culture of the dominant society.

The last chapter gives the summary and conclusions of the thesis. The Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria, according to the author, seemed to have partially failed, because despite some positive results from them, there were certain disturbing subcultural practices performed at the schools. In order to retain the functions of the institutions and minimise or eliminate the dysfunctions, the writer recommended that functional alternatives and substitutes be found for the present institutional system. Changes should be made in the system during a transitional period and there-after, changes of the system. The change OF the system was seen as the major recommendation. It was suggested that the traditional form of fostering based mainly on the ethic of reciprocity which has been modified to suit modern demands and conditions should be more widely practised.

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Having finished with the delineation of the work, let me turn to say "thank you" to some individuals, and groups of individuals; for without the co-operation of and the assistance from numerous persons and organisations, it would have been impossible to complete a work of this nature which took many years and covered not less than eleven institutions.

I am grateful to all the respondents in Nigeria and Sweden for their co-operation. My gratitude also goes to the Ministry of Social Welfare in Stockholm for the prompt action taken on my request to visit the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools. The officials at the Headquarters in Ibadan and Benin-City were very helpful, and I will not hesitate to single out Mr. M.I. Okunola, Mrs. T.O. Sowunmi, both of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Reconstruction, Social Development Division, Ibadan; Miss M.O. Mako (Principal of the Community Development Women Training Centre, Ibadan); and Mrs. A.O. Ogidi of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Information, Benin-City.

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Chapter 1 CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

An introduction of crime and punishment in traditional societies is necessary because contemporary Nigerian society has modern as well as traditional features; but quite often the traditional aspect seems not to receive due consideration; so this introduction could be seen as an attempt to correct this imbalance through the provision of certain background information about the traditional societies.

Further-more, though the majority of the crimes treated and the social sanctions discussed mostly applied to adults, one might gain certain insight into how the society perceived crimes and offences generally. This knowledge might help one understand more the societal reaction to the juveniles and their problems.

And lastly, since I will be submitting that institutional treatment (an alien form of the treatment of offenders) has partially failed in Nigeria with particular reference to the juvenile delinquents and destitutes; and suggesting that it be abolished and fostering (a traditional form of treatment) be substituted for it; it is necessary to review at this early stage some of the social sanctions in traditional societies.

1.1 Traditional Societies' Conceptions of Crime

In order to understand the views of traditional societies of crime, it is necessary to examine their social structure. One striking feature of the social life in traditional society is its group orientation. Any offence which tends to disrupt this group solidarity and cohesion will, therefore, be met with serious disapproval from the society. An offence like adultery, which is viewed as a civil offence in most European legal systems is seen as a serious criminal offence in many traditional societies and this is not surprising if one understands the primary and secondary relationships involved in the traditional and customary marriages. The marriage is not only between the man and the woman, but the social

relationships cover the families, usually the extended families of both the bride and the bridegroom. It will therefore be noticed that any form of adultery will greatly disturb the social equilibrium.

Adeyemi (1971, pp. 160 - 161) has expressed similar views:

It was submitted earlier on that adultery is serious enough to be within the proper province of criminal law. It is hardly understandable that stealing an orange, which probably costs a penny, should be a crime, whilst adultery which threatens the basic unit of society, i.e. the family, should not. The average Nigerian, and indeed African man takes a more serious view of adultery than some men from other cultures may.

The seriousness with which most Africans view adultery was portrayed in an empirical survey by Clifford (1964, p. 482) which examined the views of a sample of urban Africans of crime.¹⁾ The respondents were asked to give the offences they regarded as crimes and those they thought were not. Murder received 17 percent 'mentions;' Stealing 14; Fighting and Assault 14; Adultery 10; Rape 4; Sex Crimes (other than rape) 4; Burglary and Breaking 4; Robbery 2; Malicious Damage 2. And Clifford (1964, p. 482) comments:

Probably in any society we would expect murder and stealing to be the most frequently condemned. What is interesting, however, is the frequency with which fighting and assault is condemned. ... Again, it is significant that adultery --- a civil offence at the most in Western society --- is frequently listed as a serious offence requiring the disapproval of society.

To me, what is even more striking is that adultery was given only 10 percent 'mentions.' Differential regional perspectives might have accounted for this 'low' percentage. I presume that had the study been carried out among rural respondents instead of urban ones, the figure would have been much higher, for if the urban inhabitants, in spite of the more permissive atmosphere and the impersonal relationships in the cities could give it 10 percent 'mentions;' then the rural respondents surrounded by more restrictive conditions and personal relationships would tend to view adultery and the consequent ills with graver concern.

1) It was some form of participant research where "the students of the new Oppenheimer College in Lusaka were given a set number of questions to introduce into conversations with a variety of residents of the town chosen fairly randomly according to accessibility and their willingness to co-operate," (Clifford, 1964, p. 480).

In the same article referred to above, the respondents quoted more than once as instances of misbehaviour, though not actual crimes, rudeness, disobeying elderly people, excessive beer drinking, divorce and lying.

Another characteristic of the traditional societies which has some bearing on their view of crime is the personal relationships. This type of relationship has the inhibitory effect on the members of the society. On the one hand, the tempted offender will resist his temptation because he will not like to incur the displeasure of his kith and kin by doing something which will bring disgrace to the group. On the other hand, the other members who are acting as their "brothers' keepers" will give the tempted member its group support in his fight against the temptation.

Their religious belief forms another dimension of the social structure which gives meaning to the evaluation of an offence as either a serious or a minor one. This belief in the sacred and supernatural is so pervasive in some societies that the offences against these supernatural forces are regarded as being serious. Green (1947, pp. 101 - 102) notes how the offences against the supernatural are regarded as public wrongs by the Ibos (East Central State of Nigeria):

... but if James's account is correct the commission of an offence which is "nso" --- forbidden --- would seem to involve the whole community and not merely the individuals concerned. The individuals who take action do so on the part of the community. If there is any point in trying to apply the categories of criminal and civil to Ibo judicial matters, then presumably offences against "Ala" (god) and probably other such "nso" behaviour might be classified as criminal cases.

1.2 Traditional Procedures in Dispute Settlement

In the event of a dispute or after the committal of an offence, the selection of an appropriate traditional social institution as the locus for the dispute settlement or sanctioning of the offender will depend to a large extent on the seriousness of the dispute or offence.

1.2.1 Traditional Social Institutions as Loci for Dispute Settlement

1.2.1.1 The Role of the Age-Grades and Age-Sets

Age-grades are organised hierarchic social groups, especially of the males, in many traditional societies; age determining a person's entrance into or movement from them. Age-sets are formed through the combination of two or more age-grades.

Age-grades and age-sets handle very minor disputes and omissions. An example is failure to attend to communal labour. In this case, the other members of the age-grade will go to the offender to demand the payment of a fine. When he fails to pay, an article is usually taken away from his house. This token will be redeemed at any time the offender has the means to pay. If after a very long time he still fails to do so, the age-grade might take the matter up at the assembly of the age-set. Other minor internal offences between the members are settled as far as possible within the groups; the main aim being the maintenance of group unity and solidarity and the avoidance of external intervention.

1.2.1.2 The Role of the Family Elders

The family elders are very much concerned with the reconciliation of the numerous members of the extended families. Some of the cases handled by the family elders are lack of care of parents over their children; failure of spouses to meet their marital obligations; and sacrilege of the families' ancestors and gods.

1.2.1.3 The Role of the Village Heads

Cases affecting the whole village are discussed by the village heads. Sometimes it acts as "a Court of Appeal" in the sense that the offenders or offended who were not satisfied with the decisions of the family elders could bring their cases to the village heads for retrial. It even

happens that the family heads take the initiative in bringing the cases before the village heads when the former feel that their handling of the cases themselves might be dysfunctional for the unity and solidarity of the group.

1.2.1.4 The Role of the Clan Elders

The clan elders take on the more serious cases. This body could be likened to Gulliver's "Parish Assembly," Gulliver (1963, pp. 173 - 302). A Parish Assembly deals only with disputes between members of the same parish. Similarly, the elders deal with matters connected with the whole clan and cases of appeal coming before it from the village heads.

1.2.1.5 The Role of the Voluntary Associations

Another locus of dispute settlement is the voluntary organisation. These voluntary organisations besides their main function in the sphere of social activities usually take on an additional one of the social control of its members. They try their members who have committed minor offences. They could apply fines or expulsion or the refusal to meet at the offender's house as sanctions.

1.2.1.6 The Role of the Secret Societies

The secret societies which are closed organisations whose activities are usually unknown to members of the dominant society perform their social sanction role in both the indirect and the direct ways. Indirectly through the various initiation ceremonies and 'rites de passage' where the very first vows of allegiance to the society are taken. "The vows are pledges of faithfulness and promises to keep the secrets no matter what the inducement may be to divulge them," (Butt-Thompson, 1929, p. 127). Directly, by sanctioning offenders through the imposition of fines, expulsion, or the award of fatigue duties.

1.2.1.7 The Role of the Title Holders

The prestige of the title holders is very high in the society. Their achieved status is esteemed by many and the members try to maintain high standards even in non-title matters in order to retain the respect and approval of the society. The group has, therefore, usually very strict and severe sanctions against its offending members. Sometimes too, members of other groups in the society bring cases of fairly serious or serious nature to this group for settlement.

1.2.1.8 The Role of the King and his Chiefs

In some societies, the King's Court is the last Court of Appeal. The most serious types of cases are settled here. The king's prestige is very high because of the secular and sacred powers that he is believed to possess. But his chiefs or counsellors act as a check against the abuse and misuse of his powers. "The principle, therefore, is that if a king abuses his powers, subordinate chiefs have the right to secede from the commonwealth or, in the alternative, depose him. In Yorubaland (in Nigeria) he would in former times be requested by his chiefs to 'open the calabash,' that is to commit suicide by voluntarily taking poison or to go into voluntary exile," as recorded by Elias (1956, p. 18).

1.2.2 Methods of Settling Disputes

Having discussed briefly the loci of dispute settlement, let us quickly look at some of the methods used in the settlement of disputes. These could be divided into the supernatural and the non-supernatural methods. Two observations are necessary at this point. First, the supernatural procedures tend to be used mostly for the settlement of disputes where the offenders are unknown. Secondly, that the supernatural methods of trials appear to be characterised by elements of chance and luck, especially trial by ordeal; but the important thing is that the majority of people believe in the efficacy and deterrent effects of these methods.

1.2.2.1 Trial by Ordeal

This method of dispute settlement is used when the offender is unknown. Numerous variations of this method are used, but in order to ventilate the rationale behind their application, I will be discussing only three of them, i.e. swimming across a turbulent river; taking of poisonous lotion; and chewing a mouthful of rice. It is believed that the guilt of the offender will weigh him down in such a way that he will be unable to pull himself together and consequently fail to swim across. With regards to swallowing the poisonous lotion, the people believe that if the person concerned has a 'clean mind' (innocent), that the lotion will become powerless. Simmons (1947, pp. 121 - 122) tells us how the old Bontoc Igorot (a tribe in South East Asia) men detected the offenders who failed to observe the sacred days. "One of their tests for determining the guilty was to make all the suspects chew a mouthful of rice which when thoroughly masticated was ejected into a dish and examined. The person with the driest rice was considered guilty, it being believed that his nervousness during the trial checked the flow of saliva."

1.2.2.2 Oath and Betting

Another method of dispute settlement of unknown offenders is by oath and betting. Green (1947, p. 127) gives a vivid account of this procedure in the settlement of disputes. The procedure involved in this "betting," which is a frequent feature in Ibo (a people of the East Central State of Nigeria) cases, is that the two parties first produced tokens (e.g. hoes; cutlasses) in lieu of their stakes and that these are given into the keeping of an elder. If, ultimately, either party fails to produce his money the elder is held responsible. The accused then swears his innocence on an "agbara" (a sacred object) of the accuser's choice. If within the appointed time, i.e. a year, or whatever is fixed as the limit within which the "agbara" is to act, the accused dies, the accuser gets his staked money back and the other staked money belonging to the accused is divided among the people judging the case. If the accused does not die he gets his money back together with half that of the accuser, the other half going to the people who judged.

1.2.2.3 Divination

Strictly speaking, divination is not a settlement measure per se, but it acts as a form of preliminary investigation. A diviner is consulted if the offenders are unknown and the fortune-teller who is more or less a sort of "local psychologist" is able with some luck now and then to point out the offender through some of the cues he might have picked up. These might be the mere observation of the consulting party; skilful questioning and the deduction method; his knowledge of local affairs; and the use of some village informants who carry to the diviner through a fast, secretive, but effective channel the gossips of the village and its neighbourhood.

1.2.2.4 The Non-Supernatural Methods of Dispute Settlement

The distinctive features of these methods of trials are the informal procedures adopted in bringing actions for trials; the system of group involvement and participation; the great part played by discussion and negotiation; and the importance attached to the reconciliation of the disputants.

One of the normal methods open to an injured party is to call in a few individuals as arbitrators, in the first instance. If the injured party is dissatisfied with the verdict, he would take further steps. It was open to the litigant to beat a drum through the village announcing that he had a grievance. Green (1947, p. 106) also notes that kinship gatherings, such, for instance, as those connected with a second burial, could be used as an opportunity for getting a case discussed or dealt with.

When an action has been brought, anybody who has some point to make to help the "judges" arrive at the truth was allowed to give evidence. Once a verdict has been reached, it will be the duty of the traditional judges to give a speech at the end of the trial. Elias (1956, pp. 271 - 272) records that in these end-of-trial homilies to the parties in a

dispute, the judges "attempt to state and enunciate the norms of social behaviour expected of right-minded members of the community, to condemn departures from these objective standards, and to praise such acts as tend to maintain and enhance the general well-being of the community. The delivery of these sermons in the course of judgment often affords the listeners a measure of vicarious pleasure."

The final act in the settlement of disputes is the reconciliation of the parties. They might be made to swear reciprocal oaths giving the undertaking that all would be peaceful between them in the future and that neither party would try to harm the other in any way. Gulliver (1963, p. 277) documents this type of reconciliatory drive among the Arusha.

The mutual acquiescence of the parties to the agreement is specifically affirmed at the conclusion of the dispute, i.e. at the end of the meeting in which positive agreement is reached --- as each disputant provides beer for the assembled participants for a communal drink. Occasionally the offender --- if one is clearly evident, and his offence is a major one --- may be required to kill a goat or sheep for a meat feast at the same time; or only the offender supplies beer in recognition of his fault and the lack of provocation by the injured person. In any case, the idea is that by sitting and drinking together the two parties (each a disputant and his supporters) acknowledge their accord.

1.2.3 Social Sanctions in Traditional Societies

Social sanctions could be roughly divided into the positive and the negative. In traditional societies, the positive sanctions which are mostly used as preventive measures include praise; acceptance by and support from the society; numerous forms of rewards, e.g. exemption from communal labour; holding of extra fishing rights to some ponds, streams, or lakes; getting "a lion-share" from a war booty; the privilege of being allowed to keep a war captive; award of certain honorific titles; etc.

The negative sanctions are usually applied after an offence has been committed. Two factors deserve special mention in connection with the sanctioning of an offender. First, the gravity of his offence is often taken into account, where the traditional societies differentiated between private and public wrongs. Radcliffe-Brown (1961, p. 219) tells us that the Akans of Ghana call the former "household cases." Among the public wrongs are to be noted treason, wilful murder, sorcery, incest, sexual offences contrary to nature, etc. Secondly, besides sanctioning the offender, it should be pointed out that a great deal of importance is attached to the satisfaction of the offended.

1.2.3.1 Restitution or Replacement

This type of sanction is very popular in traditional societies. It satisfies the offender who takes an active part through discussion and negotiation in arriving at an agreement on the amount of restitution to be made. This restitution or replacement is usually twice, three times, or even more the original amount of property lost or damaged. The offended is equally satisfied because he has been able to regain his property which he would have been unable to do had the dispute been settled in a court of law, where the proceeds from the case, e.g. a fine would have gone to an impersonal organisation and not to the offended. The society itself gains through the restoration and preservation of social balance as a result of the reconciliation of the offender and the offended.

1.2.3.2 Fines; Manual Labour

Fines are usually imposed on minor offenders. The means of the offender is sometimes, but not always considered. Where the offender failed to pay, a number of measures might be applied to make him do so. Some of his property might be distrained until he was able to redeem them. Or he might be made to do manual labour until the amount for the fine has been worked off.

1.2.3.3 Corporal Punishment

This type of sanction is used for minor offences as well. But there are certain norms guiding its use. In some traditional societies, it is taboo to use it against women. In some others, it could be used against women, but not men; while in still others, it is forbidden to use it against adults of either sex. However, it is widely used against children and young persons in most traditional societies; the users attributing the merits of this punishment form to its handiness; the ease in its administration; and the efficacy.

1.2.3.4 Compensation; "Blood-money"

This is another form of sanction that is frequently used in traditional societies. After some process of argument and persuasion, the amount of compensation is fixed. The offender is satisfied because the verdict is not an imposed one. The offended is equally satisfied because he has been compensated, instead of losing everything which is the case in the contemporary system whereby the offender could be fined or sent to prison. The offended gets no gain from either measure. Both compensation and the payment of "blood-money" are used for the fairly serious offences. Some societies accept "blood-money" for man-slaughter; while in some, a girl from the offending community is given to the offended community, the reason behind this being that the girl should reproduce for them as a compensation for their loss.

1.2.3.5 Ostracism

Ostracism is reserved for the fairly serious offences. The offender is, however, allowed to live in the community, but he is not permitted to participate in either its political or social activities. In order to make the application of this type of punishment effective, it is often followed by swearing an oath in which everybody, including the offender's nearest relative undertakes to have nothing to do with the ostracised individual for the period of his visit to "Coventry." When it is observed

that the offender has improved his ways, the ostracism is terminated with immediate effect. This is a type of punishment which is much dreaded because to be isolated in societies which place high premium on group and social participation is extremely painful.

1.2.3.6 Banishment

Banishment which is used for the serious offences entails the expulsion of the offender from the community. The banishment could be for life or for a specified period. Some of the crimes which call for this type of punishment are the murder of a relative; incest; stealing by a person holding a very high title; sorcery; etc. When the offender returns after emotions might have cooled off, he is obliged to perform some purification rites which might help bring him back to his normal ritual state.

1.2.3.7 Capital Punishment

Capital punishment which is used for offences regarded as serious, such as, wilful murder; treason; sorcery; etc., takes the form of spearing the offender to death; drowning; shooting; hanging; or burying him alive. It should, however, be added that capital punishment is often used as a last resort; for a common denominator which runs through most forms of punishments in traditional societies, is the attempt by the societies to have the offenders in the communities while they are undergoing their punishments.

1.2.3.8 Imprisonment

I have included imprisonment in the list of social sanctions in traditional societies that I have discussed; but it could be argued that since it was not widely used before the advent of the Europeans, it could not actually be called a traditional form of punishment.

However, Talbot has recorded its use among the Yoruba of Nigeria in pre-British days:²⁾

'Every chief or big man had a prison or cell in which he kept his own criminals for such offences as disobedience, drunkenness, etc., those who had committed any serious crimes were, however, usually detained in the prison of the Ogboni Society where this held sway.'

Elias (1956, p. 262) commenting on this use of imprisonment among the Yorubas was not sure whether imprisonment became a customary means of punishing offenders:

It is possible that similar instances of the use of imprisonment could be found among some other African societies. It is by no means certain, however, whether and, if so, when prison became a customary means of punishing offenders.

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However, some years later, Elias' stand-point on this issue appeared to have been more definite as shown in the following extracts from Elias (1969):

In traditional African societies, imprisonment as a form of punishment was almost unknown, (p. 18).

It follows from this closely-knit character of traditional society in Africa that men tend to be more solicitous of one another's welfare than is the case in other modern societies. That, probably, is one of the reasons why imprisonment as a form of punishment for crime has not been practised in traditional societies in Africa, (p. 19).

As has been mentioned above, the usual penalties inflicted upon offenders are the payment of compensation, or blood-money, the making of restitution in appropriate cases and, in a sense, the payment of fines. There is no room for institutionalized forms of punishment such as imprisonment or preventive detention (of course these have now been introduced in many contemporary societies in Africa), (p. 21).

2) TALBOT, P.A., The Peoples of Southern Nigeria. Vol. III. Oxford University Press, London, 1926, p. 634, quoted in Elias (1956, p. 26).

Chapter 2 THE EMERGENCE OF JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS AND THE
 CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS LAW IN NIGERIA

2.1 The Founding of the Juvenile Institutions¹⁾
 in Nigeria

Up to 1944, juvenile reformatory work in Nigeria was done mostly by private and Christian Organisations, such as the Salvation Army in Lagos, the Roman Catholic Mission at Topo in Badagry, etc. But in 1944, the government decided to establish an institution for the training of juvenile delinquents and destitutes. Thus the Birrell House Boys' Approved School was founded in 1944, and other institutions followed in quick succession; the Mapara House and Isheri House Boys' Vocational Schools in 1945; the Girls' Remand Home in Lagos in 1948; the Obasa House Girls' Vocational School in 1956; the Iwo Boys' Vocational School and the Abeokuta Remand Home in 1958; and the Warri and Sapele Remand Homes in 1961.

With the founding of the Youth Welfare Schools and the Remand Homes, institutional procedure was systematised and legally regulated and the administration was formalised. At first, some of these institutions were called "Reformatory Schools," but later there came a change in nomenclature; the reformatories came to be known as Approved Schools. Two reasons seem to account for the designatory change. First, the move away from the "harder" towards the "softer" terminology in modern penology. Secondly, an attempt to find a more fitting name which better depicts the type of pupils admitted to such Youth Welfare Schools.

1) In Nigeria, no distinction is made between the Vocational Schools (Yrkesskolor) and the Approved Schools (Skolhem); they are all known as "Approved Schools." But in this thesis, for the purpose of clarity, the Vocational Schools and the Approved Schools will be differentiated. "Youth Welfare Schools" (Ungdomsvårdsskolor) will be used when the Vocational and Approved Schools are combined. "Institutions" will stand for the combination of the Youth Welfare Schools and the Remand Homes; or when training or correctional establishments are referred to in a general way.

2.2 Reformatories and Youth Welfare Schools Briefly Compared and Contrasted

A reformatory is an institution for the treatment of young adults and post-juvenile delinquents. Such an institution admits usually first offenders between 16 and 25 years of age; the age range differing from one country to the other and in some cases from one institution to the other in the same country. In Nigeria, most of the Youth Welfare Schools all along have had the features of Reformatory Schools in respect to the criminal experience and other personal characteristics of the pupils. But the Youth Welfare Schools, unlike the reformatories which cater for young adults and post-juvenile delinquents, are meant for younger inmates. For instance, the Youth Welfare Schools admitted and still admit pupils as from the age of 8, but no pupils who have attained the age of 16 years are taken into the schools, and no pupils who have reached their 18th birthdays are retained at the schools.

2.3 Differentiation of the Youth Welfare Schools

There are six Youth Welfare Schools in Southern Nigeria, out of which I studied five. Three are in the main, vocational establishments; one has a dual nature, for it runs vocational and approved school programmes; and another is purely an Approved School with about 18 percent of its pupils attending schools in the outside community, and the rest engaged in "Remedial Education" at the establishment. Remedial education consists of teaching the pupils the basic subjects, i.e. reading, writing, and arithmetic (usually called the three Rs); helping the boys develop positive attitudes to work through engaging them in some simple work-therapy; trying to help them adopt attitudes approved of by the dominant society through civics lessons, religious instructions, and some sort of group counselling; and the participation in spare-time and recreational activities, both within and without the school's walls.

With regard to the differentiation of the schools according to age and

sex, one of the schools is for girls of mixed age-groups (8-18); another is for boys of mixed age-groups (8-18); while the remaining three are for junior boys (8-12), intermediate boys (12-15); and senior boys (15-18) respectively.

The schools are also differentiated according to their degree of openness²⁾ or closeness. The four schools for boys are open establishments; while the school for girls is a closed one. This closeness of the girls' school has nothing to do with the school being a training one, for even in the outside society, girls are more closely watched and supervised than boys.

However, the schools are not differentiated according to the types of offence committed by the pupils. All the Youth Welfare Schools take in both the criminal and the non-criminal cases. Duration of care is not taken into consideration in the placement of the pupils, since both the short and the long termers are grouped together. The schools are not differentiated according to the degree of amenability of the pupils to training, for the "easy" and "difficult" cases are admitted at all the schools. The physically and mentally defective delinquents are put together with the "normal" cases. The schools are undifferentiated with regard to security risks; for the extremely few persistent absconders, the occasional absconders, and the "good risks" (non-absconders) are placed together.

2.4 Categories of Pupils Institutionalised at the Remand Homes

It could be said that seven categories³⁾ of pupils live at the Remand

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- 2) A school is said to be open if there are no physical barriers, such as, walls or fences around it; or where these are present, there are unmanned exit through which the pupils could pass without hinderance.
- 3) Notice that the cases of the pupils in categories 5 - 7 have gone through the juvenile courts; and that the pupils in categories 1 - 4 are awaiting trial at the juvenile courts.

Homes. The first are the care or protection cases⁴⁾. Into this group belong the orphans or those children who have been deserted by their relatives; those children who have been neglected or ill-treated by the persons having the care and custody of them; those found destitute or have both parents or surviving parent undergoing imprisonment; those found begging or receiving alms; those found lodging in a "discredited house" or part of a "discredited house;" those found in bad company; and the ones found to be in "moral danger." According to Laws of the Federation of Nigeria and Lagos, Vol. I, Federal Government Printer, Lagos, 1958, p. 306, "moral danger" includes slavery, child bondage and exposure to destitution, prostitution or immorality of any kind.

The second are the beyond parental control cases. These are the so-called stubborn, or "heady," or aggressive children. These children are probably those who are resentful of dictatorially enforced parental authority or control.

The third are the offenders against regulations, such as street trading, driving without licence, riding unlicensed bicycle, negligent riding, riding without light, and traffic obstruction.

The fourth are those children who have committed offences against the criminal code, such as stealing; assault; injuries to property; etc.

The fifth comprise those waiting for placement at the Youth Welfare Schools; the sixth are made up of a few children whom the juvenile court have ordered to be detained; and into the seventh group belong a handful of pupils awaiting repatriation (being sent back to their States).

2.5 Categories of Pupils Admitted at the Youth Welfare Schools

The Youth Welfare Schools admit pupils whose cases have passed through the juvenile courts and for whom institutional treatment was recommended. Those admitted might include the criminal offenders; the care or

4) WESTERN REGION OF NIGERIA, Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria. Vol. I, Government Press, Ibadan, 1959, pp. 329 - 331.

protection cases; the beyond parental control ones; and a few pupils who might have broken their supervision orders.

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In my study, for all the Nigerian institutions (the Youth Welfare Schools + the Remand Homes), the major categories, i.e. criminal offenders, the care or protection, and the beyond parental control cases, were made up of 44, 47, and 9 percent of the pupils, respectively.

2.6 Referral Agents and Agencies

The police, local authorities, and parents form the three main referral groups. The police make occasional raids at car parks, cinema localities, market squares, "discredited houses," and other hang-outs at odd hours of the day and night with a view to catching the wandering juveniles. Local authorities (District Councils) are empowered by law to refer to the juvenile courts children and young persons if they have reasonable ground for believing that they are in need of care or protection. Some parents refer their own children by swearing to an affidavit to the effect that the children are beyond their control.

2.7 "Child," and "Young Person" Defined

In the Children and Young Persons Law, "child" means a person under the age of fourteen years; and "young person" means a person who has attained the age of fourteen years and is under the age of seventeen years.

2.8 An Outline of and the Composition of the Juvenile Courts

Juvenile courts were established in Nigeria in 1943. Their founding was one of the measures the authorities adopted in their attempt to reduce

or eliminate to a great extent the negative effects on the juveniles when they are mixed with the adult offenders.

The juvenile court is composed of a magistrate or chief magistrate and a panel of lay-men who sit once a week. In one of the States, the lay members number between 12 and 16 and they hold their appointment for one year. Membership is voluntary and no remuneration is attached to the office. The members serve on the panel in rotation; the magistrate sitting with one man and a woman for a month. In most cases, the members are joined by the warden of the Remand Home, the Probation Officer, and a police officer from the juvenile arm of the Police Department.

2.9 Restrictions on Punishment

In Nigeria, no child is imprisoned, and young persons are not usually imprisoned if they can be dealt with in any other way whether by probation, fine, corporal punishment, committal to a place of detention or to an approved institution.

2.10 Capital Punishment and Age

Sentence of death is not pronounced or recorded against any offender who has not attained the age of seventeen years; instead, the court orders him to be detained.

2.11 The Disposition of Cases at the Juvenile Courts

There are various ways in which the juvenile court can dispose⁵⁾ of the cases which come before it:

5) WESTERN REGION OF NIGERIA, "Children and Young Persons Law," in Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria. Vol. I. Government Press, Ibadan, 1959, pp. 323 - 324.

By dismissing the charge; by discharging the offender on his entering into a recognisance; by discharging the offender and placing him under the supervision of a probation officer; by committing the offender by means of a corrective order to the care of a relative or other fit person; by sending the offender by means of a corrective order to an approved institution; by ordering the offender to be whipped; by ordering the offender to pay a fine, damages, or costs; by ordering the parent or guardian of the offender to give security for his good behaviour; by committing the offender to custody in a place of detention; and where the offender is a young person, by ordering him to be imprisoned if other measures have been tried but were found ineffective.

Table 2.1 below shows how the offences committed by juveniles (children and young persons) against the criminal code, regulations; the beyond control, and the care or protection cases in Western Nigeria for the year starting 1/4 1967 and ending 31/3 1968 were disposed of by the juvenile courts.

Table 2.1 Disposal of Offences Committed by Children and Young Persons in Western Nigeria between 1/4 1967 and 31/3 1968.

Dispositional Measures	Offences against the criminal code		Offences against regulations		Beyond parental control cases		Care or protect cases
	B	G ^x	B	G	B	G	B
N	482	52	64	336	37	14	154
Charge dismissed	0	2	2	1	0	0	0
Discharged and acquitted	11	10	2	1	0	0	0
Charges withdrawn	3	2	0	1	0	0	0
Motion withdrawn	0	0	0	0	3	21	1
Cautioned and discharged	12	33	27	21	0	0	0
Fined	2	0	67	76	0	0	0
Whipped	24	0	0	0	0	0	0
Probation order	15	12	0	0	0	0	0
Probation order extended	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Supervision order	0	0	0	0	76	29	15
Approved School order	3	2	0	0	3	0	0
Fit person order	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Recognisance	8	23	0	1	0	0	9
Transferred to Adult Court	1	2	3	0	0	0	0
Compensation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Released to parents/guardians	0	0	0	0	8	43	53
Repatriation	2	2	0	0	0	0	6
Detention	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Imprisoned	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cases struck out	8	6	0	1	0	0	4
Pending	11	8	0	0	11	7	9
	101	102	101	102	101	100	100

^x B = Boys; G = Girls

Source: Adapted from tables VII - XI, pp. 19 - 21 of the Annual Report of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development 1967 - 68 (Western State of Nigeria Official Document No. 2 of 1971).

Table 2.1 above shows that nine times more boys than girls committed criminal offences in the State. More boys were also referred to the juvenile courts for being beyond parental control than girls. The boys out-numbered the girls with regard to the care or protection cases; but the difference here is not as great as in the other two categories (criminal offences; and beyond parental control cases). However, five times more girls than boys were referred for offences against regulations.

Sex roles and the differential socialisation of the boys and girls in the society could account for the preponderance of either sex with regard to the committal of certain types of offences. The boys are given greater freedom; they tend to be more adventurous and tougher than the girls. The boys are more likely to come into conflict with the law and the law enforcement agencies in the course of their carrying out some of their sex roles. The girls, on the other hand, are expected to be fairly docile, to be good at domestic work as a preparation for future life (marriage), and taught from the beginning that certain activities are taboo to them. "Tom-boyish" activities are disapproved of, while those thought to be appropriate to their sex are encouraged. It is not therefore surprising that more girls than boys are referred for breaches of regulations. Even here, it is interesting to observe that all the 336 girls who were found to have broken the regulations did so as a result of their engagement in street trading. Trading⁶⁾ has for a very long time in the society been regarded as the special sphere of women. It is just recently that men have started making major in-roads into that field. Of the 64 boys referred for offences against regulations, as many as 93 percent of them engaged in street trading⁷⁾; but while 2 percent of the boys drove without licence, 3 percent engaged in negligent riding, and 2 percent obstructed traffic; none of the girls broke any other regulations except those connected with street trading.

6) The trading referred to is that with merchandise (selling articles or goods).

7) The fact that as many as 93 percent of the Western State boys engaged in street trading is not very surprising; for the peoples of the Western State (Yorubas), those of Lagos State (Yorubas), and the ones of the East Central State (Ibos) of Nigeria are traditionally renowned traders; and in these States there is little or no distinction made between sex and age where trading is concerned.

2.11.1 Institutional Measures

The dispositional measures enumerated in section 2.11 can be grouped into the institutional and the non-institutional measures. Detention at the Remand Homes and committal to the Approved Schools are the major institutional measures. Children and young persons are sent by means of corrective orders to the Approved Schools for a relatively indeterminate term. Such a term is a period that is not less than the minimum period or the maximum period fixed by the magistrate. But since this thesis is mainly concerned with the institutional treatment of juveniles, we will defer the detailed discussion of this form of treatment.

2.11.2 Non-Institutional Measures

Table 2.1 shows that the most widely used extra-mural measure for the boys who committed offences against the criminal code was whipping; 24 percent of the male criminal offenders were whipped in 1967. (For the detailed discussion of corporal punishment, including whipping ordered by the court, see section 8.3.2.1). Girls who committed criminal offences were more often cautioned and discharged than the boys; 33 percent of the girls, but only 12 percent of the boys were cautioned and discharged.

Juvenile offenders of both sexes against regulations were usually fined. 67 percent of the boys and 76 percent of the girls received this type of sanction in 1967 in the Western State. Sutherland and Cressey (1966, pp. 330 - 331) have advanced numerous advantages of the fine over other forms of sentencing. According to them, the fine is the most easily and thoroughly remissible of any of the penalties; the fine is a most economical penalty: it costs the State practically nothing when used without imprisonment for default; the fine is easily divisible and can be adjusted to the enormity (seriousness) of the offence, the character and wealth of the offender; it does not carry with it the public stigma and disgrace that imprisonment does, and therefore does not hamper reformation of the offender; it affects one of the most general interests

of most people and causes a kind of suffering that is universal: therefore it is efficacious in dealing with many people; and finally, it provides an income for the State.

However, the use of the fine as a form of sentencing has its disadvantages. In the first place, it costs the government money to keep the collecting machinery functioning. Secondly, it costs the State money to maintain persons who happen to be in prison at one time or the other owing to their inability to pay the fines imposed on them. The present trend, however, is to fine the offender after considering his means and capacity to pay. And this leads us to the third demerit, and that is the inconsistency involved when offenders are fined; for two people might commit the same type of offence under the same prevailing conditions, but as a result of the varying means and capacities of the offenders to pay, there might arise a wide difference between the fines imposed. Delvin (1970, p. 62) has drawn our attention to another point in the use of the fine as a sanction, and that is "that unless care is employed in the fixing of the fine, far from being a deterrent it acts positively as an encouragement to crime in that the offender feels obliged to commit further offences (which presumably he hopes will not be detected) in order to pay for the fines in respect of offences which have already been detected." And lastly, the use of the fine could be unjust as it turns out to be a type of "collective punishment" where the offender's relatives try to raise money for the payment of the fine.⁸⁾ This injustice is specially acute when the fine is imposed on juveniles who are often in dependent states economically. The payment of the fine invariably devolves on the children's parents or guardians. But its use on the children who broke the regulations on street trading in Nigeria could be defended on the ground that they carried out the trade on their parent's behalf; so it is only fair that the parents should bear the consequences of the children's actions, in such cases. But the question is how many parents or guardians are aware of the existence

8) These need not be part of the system, but are so in most parts of the world. However, Sweden which had about 13,000 fine-defaulters in prison in 1932, according to Elwin, Hecksher, & Nelson (1971, p. 77) has introduced a system of "day-fines," (calculated according to the means of and the capacity for payment by the offender); and that of the instalmental payments of fines. These measures help minimise the number of fine-defaulters, and aim at avoiding putting such offenders in prison; for example, Bondeson (1974, p. 561) recorded that for the period, 1931 - 35, there were 10,907 fine-defaulters in prison, but within the following two 5-year periods, the figures dropped, first to 3,550, and then to 398.

and implications of the street trading regulations.

Most boys, 76 percent of them who were beyond the control of their parents received the supervision order; while only 29 percent of the girls were supervised. As many as 43 percent of the girls, but only 8 percent of the boys were released to their parents or guardians. This is in line with the societal conception of the girls as being less troublesome and more amenable to training and discipline than the boys.

Chapter 3 FIELD-WORK AND METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

In order to help in the evaluation of the degree of the reliability and validity of the work and the determination of how far the generalisations from it could be stretched, it is necessary to give the following fairly detailed account on the field-work and the methodology. This chapter also sheds some light on the institutional climate of the establishments because to a certain degree, a glimpse of the institutional climate could be got through the attitudes (acceptance, rejection, hostility, aloofness) of the respondents towards a survey of this kind.

3.1 The Survey in Time and Space

The field-work was carried out in four phases. Phase 1 of the survey which was done in Nigeria lasted from January 1969 to April, 1969, and covered 9 institutions in all, 5 of which were Youth Welfare Schools, and 4 Juvenile Remand Homes.

The five Youth Welfare Schools were: Obasa House Girls' Vocational School, Idiaraba, Lagos; Mapara House Boys' Vocational School, Isheri, Lagos; Isheri House Boys' Vocational School, Isheri, Lagos; Iwo Boys' Vocational School, Iwo, Western Nigeria; and Birrell House Boys' Approved School, Yaba, Lagos.

The four Juvenile Remand Homes were: Girls' Remand Home, Idiaraba, Lagos; Juvenile Remand Home, Abeokuta, Western Nigeria; Juvenile Remand Home, Warri, Midwestern Nigeria; and Juvenile Remand Home, Sapele, Midwestern Nigeria.

Phase 2 of the field-work took place at the Forsane Vocational School, Frändefors, Sweden, between 1st and 4th December, 1971. The 3rd phase of the field-work was done at the Östra Spång Boys' Approved School, Örskelljunga, Sweden, between 20th and 23rd March, 1972.

Phase 4 took me back to Nigeria. This time, two of the Youth Welfare Schools were revisited. The Extension Officers (Social Welfare Officers of the different Units of the Social Welfare Services placed usually at the local offices of the Social Welfare Ministries) in one of the States were interviewed. These Extension Officers could also be called After-Care Officers for the purpose of simplicity. Some members of the general public were also interviewed.

3.2 Selection of the Institutions

Certain criteria guided me in the selection of the institutions that were to be included in the survey. At the time the investigation was conducted (phase 1), there were one Vocational School at Enugu and one Juvenile Remand Home. Because of the civil war in Nigeria at this time, these two institutions in Eastern Nigeria were not included in the study. There were seven Remand Homes in the Midwest and these were situated at Agbor, Asaba, Auchi, Benin, Sapele, Ughelli, and Warri. Four of these were very near the war zones, and the "safety first" principle dictated their exclusion. Of the remaining three, Sapele and Warri were randomly selected. The West had only one Boys' Vocational School at Iwo, and four Juvenile Remand Homes at Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ijebu-Ode, and Oshodi.¹⁾ With the East out of the picture, the Boys' Vocational School at Iwo was then the only Vocational School for boys which combined all the age-groups (Senior, Intermediate, and Junior). So, the Iwo Boys' Vocational School was selected. Of the Juvenile Remand Homes in the West, Abeokuta was chosen out of economic consideration since it was my base and was besides, strategically situated between the Iwo Boys' Vocational School in the West, and the other Youth Welfare Schools which were concentrated in Lagos.

There were in Lagos four Youth Welfare Schools and these were all included in the survey because of their apparent uniqueness. The Obasa House was a Vocational School for only girls. The Mapara House was a

1) With the 12-State-Structure in Nigeria, the Juvenile Remand Home at Oshodi now belongs to the Lagos State.

Vocational School for Senior boys; the Isheri House was a Vocational School for the Intermediate boys; while the Birrell House was an Approved School for Junior boys.

Of the Juvenile Remand Homes in Lagos, the Girls' Remand Home was chosen, the rationale being that since there were not many of such Homes exclusively meant for the detention of female juvenile delinquents in Nigeria, it were best to cover the few existing ones.

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It should, however, be mentioned in passing that while the Girls' Remand Home in Lagos was the only one exclusively meant for the girls, that most of the other Homes in Lagos and the other States in Nigeria were "co-educational," though it should be stressed that in all the co-educational Homes, the boys usually out-numbered the girls. For instance, of the 844 Remand Home cases in the Midwest in the year 1971/72, 718 of them were males and 126 females.

x x x x x x x

The following criteria were taken into consideration in the selection of Forsane and Östra Spång. First, was the geographical factor. In order to make the best use of the limited resources of time and money at my disposal, I had to select the schools in the South of Sweden. Secondly, the schools were selected to match fairly closely the Mapara and Birrell Houses with which they were to be compared. Mapara matched Forsane in terms of the age of the boys and the type of training given at the schools; both being Vocational Schools for senior boys; while Birrell matched Östra Spång; the two being Approved Schools meant for the junior boys. Another factor which was considered was the type of pupils admitted at the schools. The Youth Welfare Schools in Southern Sweden which had "special" pupils, like narcotic misusers, pupils with alcohol problem, or feeble-minded pupils were not included in the sample. Sex was another variable that was considered. Since there was only one Vocational School for girls in Nigeria, I decided to concentrate on the boys in the cross-national comparison section of the survey; so the Youth Welfare Schools in Southern Sweden for girls were excluded. Another factor still which was taken into account in the matching of the Swedish and Nigerian Schools was the provision of special treatment at the schools. Excluded

were schools with permanent full-time specialists, i.e. doctors, psychiatrists, and psychologists. Included were the schools that had these personnel on only consultant basis. This distinction was necessary because the schools in Nigeria had these personnel only on part-time basis. It could hardly be otherwise because they were very few. In the whole of Nigeria in 1969, there were about fifteen psychiatrists, all in all.

The Swedish sample could not be said to be representative. There were about 21 Youth Welfare Schools in Sweden, sixteen of which were Vocational and five Approved ones. We cannot, therefore, generalise from merely surveying two of the schools; more-so on the staff sample, as there was a heavy drop-out rate in the staff sample at Forsane. The cross-national comparison should be seen merely as a crude attempt at putting side by side the institutions of both nations with a view to seeing their points of similarities and dissimilarities. So, much care should be taken in the interpretation and generalisations of the findings because of the smallness and unrepresentativeness of the Swedish sample.

3.3 Approaches Used in Data Gathering

Questionnaires formed the major source of data collection. But apart from this method, others were adopted. These included the examination of documentary materials, and unstructured interviews (mostly of the casual conversational type) with some personnel and others connected with the Youth Welfare Schools and Remand Homes in one way or the other. Observation was also one of the methods used in data collection.

In the fourth phase of the field-work, the semi-structured interviews were tape-recorded. The necessity for the fourth phase arose as a result of certain serendipity (accidental discoveries) patterns, which I observed while processing the materials gathered during the first phase. Further enquiries were made about these patterns and I also seized the opportunity to follow up some important questions which I noticed were not treated in depth earlier.

3.4 Definition of the Pupil-Population

The pupil-population consisted of delinquents, "suspected" or potential delinquents, and non-delinquents. The delinquents are those pupils who have been adjudged by the Juvenile Courts as being so. It is, therefore, the official definition that is being adopted in this case. The "suspected" or potential delinquents are those pupils detained at the Juvenile Remand Homes pending the hearing of their cases; while the non-delinquents are the pupils who committed no delinquent acts, but were sent to the institutions for care or protection;²⁾ the establishments being used in such cases as "Children's Homes," or a type of "'Omnibus' Foster Homes."

3.5 Sampling and Respondents' Coverage

Table 3.1 gives the coverage of the respondents at the institutions. Eighty percent of the total population of the Nigerian and Swedish staff and 72 percent of those of the Nigerian and Swedish pupils were interviewed. Total pupil-population is the number of pupils on roll at the institutions. Total staff-population is the total of those categories or groups of personnel who have a reasonable degree of contact with the pupils (see section 3.5.1 below).

The number of respondents interviewed could also be related to the "accessible" population. In this case, 88 percent of the "accessible" population of the Nigerian and Swedish staff and 73 percent of that of the Nigerian and Swedish pupils was interviewed. The "accessible" population is the number of respondents who are not only physically present at the institutions, but are accessible. Cases where the staff members were away on maternity, casual or annual leaves were reckoned with total population and were not regarded as accessible population. Excluded from the accessible population were also cases where the staff members were physically present at the schools, but there were strong reasons for their not being interviewed. Examples were cases of serious

2) For more information about the different categories of pupils at both the Remand Homes and Youth Welfare Schools, see section 2.4 & 2.5.

sickness, involvement in an important institutional business which needed immediate attention, etc. Those personnel who were physically present and accessible at the institutions, but refused to be interviewed are included in the "accessible" population.

When the number of respondents interviewed is related to the sample, it shows that 89 percent of the Nigerian and Swedish staff-sample and 99 percent of the Nigerian and Swedish pupil-sample was interviewed.

3.5.1 Staff-Sample and Subject Drop-out

The intention was from the beginning to give total coverage to all the staff members who had a reasonable degree of contact with the pupils; (included were teachers, trade instructors, etc., excluded were the clerical staff), the assumption being that they would be so few in number that it would be meaningless sampling them any further.

Phase 1: At the Obasa House Girls' Vocational School, 13 of the 14 staff members were interviewed. The one who was not covered was on maternity leave. At the Mapara House, the coverage was 16 out of 16. At the Isheri House, two members of the staff who were busy with the pupils doing their Government Trade Test were not interviewed. One staff member in this school was on casual leave at this time. At the Boys' Vocational School, Iwo, 12 of the 13 staff members were reached; the staff member who accompanied six pupils on "out-duty" jobs was the unreachable one.

At the Birrell House Boys' Approved School, the Assistant Principal was not covered because on the day I arrived, he was proceeding on leave and transfer. This official misplaced most of the forms I left in his possession, including the questionnaire for the Principals and Wardens (FI). When the Principal later became available, I talked to him about the misplaced forms and he rang the Assistant Principal several times, but he was not reached. We then arranged that I should send him

(the Principal) a new form by post. I sent him one from Sapele and another from Sweden, but none was returned. Another staff member from this school was uncooperative and refused to be interviewed. These two refusals from the same school were the only ones I encountered throughout the first phase.

Phase 2: Forsane Vocational School: As a result of truncated communication between the field-worker and a highly placed official at this school, the rapport with the members of the staff on our arrival was not very harmonious. As a consequence, the dropout rate was rather high. The coverage was only 23 out of the 40 staff members who were physically present and accessible at the school.

Phase 3: Östra Spång Boys' Approved School: The coverage in this school was total, i.e. 36 out of 36.

Phase 4: Mapara House (Revisited): Thirteen of the sixteen staff members were reached. Of the three staff members who were not interviewed, one was on casual leave, while it was impossible to fit the work schedule of the two remaining staff members into my programme at the school or my programme into their schedule.

Birrell House (Revisited): Eight out of nine was the coverage. The 9th staff member who was not interviewed was on sick leave.

3.5.2 Pupil-Sample and Subject Drop-out

Pupils included in the survey were selected on a simple random basis. The sampling rate was not uniform for all the schools. The two Swedish Youth Welfare Schools (Forsane Vocational School, and Östra Spång Boys' Approved School) received full coverage. It should be noted, however, that the two Östra Spång boys who received their VUSK (vård utom skola = care outside school) status a few hours after our arrival at the school were not interviewed. They were, nonetheless, regarded as members of the total, but not that of the "accessible" population. The three Nigerian

institutions (Iwo Boys' Vocational School, Obasa House Girls' Vocational School, and the Juvenile Remand Home, Abeokuta) which I studied more intensively received total coverage. The fourth institution in Nigeria which was given total coverage was the Juvenile Remand Home, Sapele, since there were only eleven pupils there at the time of my visit.

At the Mapara and Isheri Houses, the sampling was one out of every two pupils. At the Birrell House, the sampling was two out of three. At the Juvenile Remand Home, Warri, and the Girls' Remand Home, Lagos, one out of every two pupils were interviewed.

Mapara and Birrell Houses revisited: By the time the Clearance Order (permit) allowing me revisit the Mapara and Birrell Houses arrived from the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, Lagos State Government, my time and money had almost run out, so I was forced to cut down the sampling rate drastically at both schools. At Mapara, 6 boys were sampled from each of the 4 dormitories, i.e. 24 pupils were included in the sample; but in the end, the coverage came down to 22. The first dropout came from Bajulaye (the most junior dormitory). He had difficulty with the English Language.³⁾ The second dropout who was sick came from Falolu (next junior dormitory). At Akintoye (next senior dormitory) and Kosoko (most senior dormitory), all the boys sampled were interviewed.

At the Birrell House, 4 boys were sampled from each of the four groups (A, B, C, D) into which the school was divided. The ratio of the sample to the population was 2:7 at Birrell and 1:3 at Mapara.

3) English is still the official language in Nigeria. But most of the uneducated Nigerians and even those in the lower forms at the Primary Schools are usually unable to speak simple correct English. Nonetheless, people of different tribes have to communicate with one another, but there are about 250 languages and dialects in the country. So, in order to eliminate to some extent the communication barrier, people in the cities of not only Nigeria, but most of the other West African countries speak a type of adulterated English called "pidgin English."

There was only one refusal in the pupil-sample, and this was the pupil at Forsane who refused for personal reasons to be interviewed. There were no refusals on the pupils' part in the Nigerian institutions. The six boys who were not included in the sample at the Iwo Boys' Vocational School were those boys who were away to Ibadan on an "out-job." At the Juvenile Remand Home, Warri, a pupil (D.O.) who was thought to be "a defective delinquent" (this term refers to delinquents who are feeble-minded or otherwise mentally incompetent) was dropped after I had noticed that he was extremely incoherent in his answers. Another sampling was done and a substitute found.

However, at the Obasa House Girls' Vocational School, Lagos, there was a case where a girl in the middle of the interview, through no fault that I could discern, just refused to go on. I allowed her a cooling-off period, after which the interview continued. I was puzzled by this incident and tried to analyse it. Was the emotional involvement too much for her to bear? Was the strangeness of the situation the responsible factor? I must confess that I did not arrive at any right answer, and so I approached a member of the staff who told me that it was no wonder to her because the girl was regarded throughout the school as an hypersensitive and aggressive pupil.

Table 3.1 The Coverage of Respondents at the Institutions

Institu- tions	Total popu- lation	"Access- ible" popu- lation	Sample	Number inter- viewed	Refu- sals	Unus- able form- ular	Inter- viewed total popu- lation	Inter- viewed "access- ible" popu- lation	Inter- viewed Sample
							%	%	%
<u>Obasa</u>									
Principal	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	14	13	13	13	0	0	93	100	100
Pupils	32	32	32	32	0	0	100	100	100
<u>Mapara</u>									
Principal	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	16	16	16	16	0	0	100	100	100
Pupils	68	68	34	34	0	0	50	50	100
<u>Isheri</u>									
Principal	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	14	11	11	11	0	1	79	100	100
Pupils	66	66	33	33	0	0	50	50	100
<u>Birrell</u>									
Principal	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Staff	12	11	10	9	1	1	75	82	90
Pupils	45	45	30	30	0	0	67	67	100
<u>Iwo</u>									
Principal	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	13	12	12	12	0	0	92	100	100
Pupils	57	51	51	51	0	0	89	100	100
<u>Forsane</u>									
Principal	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	50	40	40	23	17	0	46	58	58
Pupils	41	41	41	40	1	0	98	98	98
<u>Östra Spång</u>									
Principal	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	36	36	36	36	0	0	100	100	100
Pupils	25	23	23	23	0	0	92	100	100

Table 3.1 (contd.)

Institu- tions	Total popu- lation	"Access- ible" popu- lation	Sample	Number inter- viewed	Refu- sals	Unus- able form- ular	Inter- viewed total popu- lation %	Inter- viewed "access- ible" popu- lation %	Inter- viewed Sample %
<u>Mapara (R)</u>									
Staff	16	13	13	13	0	0	81	100	100
Pupils	71	71	22	22	0	0	31	31	100
<u>Birrell (R)</u>									
Staff	9	8	8	8	0	0	89	100	100
Pupils	56	56	16	16	0	0	29	29	100
<u>Lagos (R.H.)</u>									
Warden [§]	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Staff	6	6	6	6	0	0	100	100	100
Pupils	26	26	13	13	0	0	50	50	100
<u>Abeokuta (R.H.)</u>									
Warden	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	5	5	5	5	0	0	100	100	100
Pupils	14	14	14	14	0	0	100	100	100
<u>Warri (R.H.)</u>									
Warden	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	4	4	4	4	0	0	100	100	100
Pupils	22	22	11	11	0	0	50	50	100
<u>Sapele (R.H.)</u>									
Warden	1	1	1	1	0	0	100	100	100
Staff	5	5	5	5	0	0	100	100	100
Pupils	11	11	11	11	0	0	100	100	100

(R) Revisited (a revisited school)

(R.H.) Remand Home

§ The Girls' Remand Home was a type of an "annex" to the Obasa House, so I felt it unnecessary to interview the Warden of the Home.

Table 3.1 (contd.)

Institu- tions	Total popu- lation	"Access- ible" popu- lation	Sample	Numer inter- viewed	Refu- sals	Unus- able form- ular	Inter- viewed total popu- lation %	Inter- viewed "access- ible" popu- lation %	Inter- viewed Sample %
<u>Total</u> [*]									
Staff	69	63	62	61	1	2	88	97	98
Pupils	268	262	180	180	0	0	67	69	100
<u>Total</u> ^{**}									
Staff	20	20	20	20	0	0	100	100	100
Pupils	73	73	49	49	0	0	67	67	100
<u>Total</u> ^{***}									
Staff	89	83	82	81	1	2	91	98	99
Pupils	341	335	229	229	0	0	67	68	100
<u>Total</u> ^{****}									
Staff	175	159	158	140	18	2	80	88	89
Pupils	407	399	293	292	1	0	72	73	99

* Total for only the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools during 1st phase

** Total for only the Juvenile Remand Homes in Nigeria during 1st phase

*** Total for all the Nigerian institutions during the 1st phase

**** Total for all the Nigerian institutions and the Swedish Schools. (Summation covers the 1st to the 3rd phases of the field-work).

3.6 Confidentiality

Owing to the special nature of these institutions, the confidential aspect of the research was stressed by the Ministries. To safeguard this, the States were not very enthusiastic in allowing in "foreign elements" into the institutions, so I had to break up a group of interviewers that I had earlier trained at Sapele while waiting for the first "Clearance Orders" from the Ministries.

The Western State Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development with the willing co-operation of the Principal of the Community Development Women Training Centre, Bodija, Ibadan, made available the students of the centre who helped me interview the pupils of the Iwo Boys' Vocational School. I made several visits to the centre to brief the students on the questionnaire and its administration.

Since the students of the Community Development Women Training Centre, Ibadan, were only to help me out with the Iwo Boys' Vocational School, I approached a few staff members who were very friendly and asked them help me during their free periods in the administration of the questions to the pupils at the other schools. We spent some nights going through the questionnaire. During the interview, the staff members were changed. For instance, the one from School 2, interviewed the pupils of School 3, and the staff member from School 3, interviewed the pupils of School 2. However, it was the author himself who did most of the pupil-interviews, since the free periods of the aiding staff members were few and short.

The Western State Ministry asked for advance copies of the questionnaires, which I complied with. Question FIII: 15 (dealing with pupils selecting or choosing) their own clothing, and how often was deleted because the officials told me there had been some bickerings over this issue. This, I did not regard as a serious loss of information for there were other more important and "sensitive" questions which I feared might be tampered with, but were not, fortunately. However, in order to make the interview uniform, and the results comparable, this question was struck off in all the questionnaire.

3.7 Pre-test

No pre-testing of the questionnaires was done, the reason being that each of the Youth Welfare Schools was thought to be unique, and any pre-test in one of them would have automatically meant its exclusion from the main sample. However, a few adjustments were made to one or two questions shortly before and during the first interviews.

When the Social Welfare Ministry made me understand that the after-care work was not done by or through the schools, but by an autonomous body (the Extension Officers or After-Care Officers) of the Juvenile Unit (Section) of the Social Welfare Ministries, question FI: 18 was rephrased. Instead of, "In connection with the care of the pupils outside the institution, does this establishment have accommodation for the conditionally released pupils?" it was made to read: "In connection with the care of the pupils outside the institution, what accommodations are available for the conditionally released pupils?"

Another question which was rephrased was the one dealing with "lights-out." "Lights-out" is a common, well-known, and frequently used term in most Boarding Schools in Nigeria, but I was surprised when the first returns from the first school came in, all suggesting that there was no "lights-out" in the school. I quickly went round the staff members to find out the reason for this. At the end of my fact-finding mission, which revealed that lights were left on throughout the night as one of the measures applied to discourage homosexual practices, I changed the question to read: "When do you go to sleep at night in this school?"

3.8 The Administration of the Questionnaires

The staff members were gathered in small groups depending on the shifts they were working and a short and simple introduction was given by the author. They were told that the researcher wanted to know about their work at the institutions. They were assured of their

anonymity, and asked to be honest in their answers. The fact that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions was stressed. They were then put through on how to fill in the questionnaire, and were there-after dispersed with the injunction to work alone and not in groups while filling in the questionnaire. But it happened in a few cases that some staff members for one reason or the other failed to fill in their questionnaire. In such cases, I interviewed them personally and filled in the questionnaire for them.

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As an introduction, the pupils were simply told that the researcher wanted to know how they were living at the institutions. All the pupils' questionnaire were filled in for them by interviewers. Reference has already been made to the staff members and the students of the Community Development Centre, Ibadan who helped me interview the pupils. The commonest medium of communication with the Nigerian pupils was the pidgin English (a sort of adulterated English spoken by many educated and non-educated people along the West Coast of Africa). But in the few cases where the pupils did not even understand the pidgin English, the other interviewers were asked to interview such pupils in their own mother tongue.

At Forsane and Östra Spång, six under-graduate students doing their special course in Criminology at the Institute of Sociology, University of Lund, helped with the interview of the pupils by filling in the pupils' questionnaire for them as was the case at the Nigerian institutions.

3.9 Unusable Materials

It was impossible to track one of the staff members of Isheri House for the refilling of his questionnaire after I had gone through it marking off the wrongly filled questions.

At the Birrell House Boys' Approved School, on the first day of my

visit to the school, a new Assistant Principal was taking over from the old one. She was given a questionnaire to fill in, but owing to her newness at the school, it was impossible for her to answer most of the questions. However, her answers, though few, might, it was thought by the writer, throw some light into the type of attitudes that such an officer brought to her new situation, and those that she might have formed on the spot, so to say when she got to the school. This was the original intention, but it was found unfeasible as the processing of the data progressed, and so this formular was rejected.

Only 12 of the 25 tape-recorded interviews I conducted with members of the general public in Nigeria could be used. The 13 others were rubbed off as a result of the poor workmanship of a radio mechanic who repaired the tape-recorder when it developed some trouble during the 4th phase of the field-work.

3.10 "Identification Codes"

In order to simplify the work of tabulation, certain codes will be used to denote the institutions, the questionnaires and the questions.

The Youth Welfare Schools in both Nigeria and Sweden will be represented by Arabic figures; the five Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools will be called Schools 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Their counterparts in Sweden will be known as Schools 6 and 7. The letter "R" before the number of a school means that the school was re-visited during the 4th phase of the field-work, e.g. School R2, means School 2 revisited.

The four Nigerian Juvenile Remand Homes surveyed will be designated by letters, e.g. Homes A, B, C, and D.

I will be using Roman figures to denote the questionnaires. Arabic figures will be used to show the number of a particular question in

the questionnaire. The constellations FI: 5; FII: 7; and FIII: 13; mean the 5th question in Formular I (Questions for only Principals and Wardens); the 7th question in Formular II (Questions for Staff Members); and the 13th question in Formular III (Questions for Pupils).

A similar plan will be used for the questions asked during the revisit, but "F" will be replaced by "R" (Revisited). The first Roman figure will be omitted since there were no questions meant for only the Principals during the revisit. So, RII: 10; and RIII: 25; mean the 10th question in Formular II (Questions for Staff Members); and the 25th question in Formular III (Questions for Pupils) when two of the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools were revisited.

In some cases where I will want to be very specific in giving the source of certain striking revelations, views, or suggestions, the respondents will be identified in the following ways:⁴⁾

NP: 012; SP: 034; NM: 12; SM: 34.

The pattern above means Nigerian Pupil, number 012; Swedish Pupil, number 034; Nigerian Staff Member, number 12; and Swedish Staff Member, number 34.

3.11 The National and Cross-National Comparative Design

One of the comparisons will be between institutions of different types. Here, the Youth Welfare Schools will be compared with the Juvenile Remand Homes. Then schools of the same type will be compared with a view to finding out certain constellations of institutional features that are unique to each of the Youth Welfare Schools, and those they have in common. The two groups, i.e. the staff and the pupils will be compared with each other; for it is my belief that the analyses of

4) It should also be observed that besides the distinguishing letters, the pupils' numbers are made up of 3 digits, while the staff members' numbers have only 2 digits.

some questions common to both groups might cast some light on how the ruling and the ruled groups define certain situations at the institutions.

Two Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools will be compared with two comparable Youth Welfare Schools in Sweden. Some people might react sceptically to such a comparative approach by wondering how it could be possible to compare juvenile institutions from two widely differing cultures. It is a formidable task since problems of cross-national comparisons are enormous and involve the manipulation of far too many variables. Besides, there are many features unique to each culture. Problems of standardising the measuring instruments are also present; for instance, it was not easy in Sweden to let some respondents realise that manual labour which is a routine work at the institutions might also be used as a negative sanction. The influence of culture could also present some difficulty when one has to explain some findings. Take for example, the question of pupils ratting on a comrade who was found trying to escape from the institution (see section 7.1.1). No Swedish pupil said that he would report the deviant to the staff, but as many as 92 per-cent of the Nigerian pupils said they would squeal. Here lies a potential danger for the misinterpretation of the findings if one forgets for once the possibility of differential cultural perspectives acting as intervening variables. One might be tempted to say that there was very little solidarity among the Nigerian pupils. On the contrary, squealing was an indication of "mutual concern." In Sweden, the norm which seemed to have been rigorously observed was not to squeal; while in Nigeria, to squeal appeared to have been the code.

However, many of the sources of error above (standardisation of measuring instruments; intervening cultural variables; interpretation of findings; etc) are greatly minimised and in some cases eliminated when the research is carried out by the same person using the same instruments.

Secondly, we should not forget that despite the cultural differences and the uniqueness of the institutions in either country, that there are certain institutional features that are cross-culturally similar.

Thirdly, the Youth Welfare Schools, both in Nigeria and Sweden are for the training of children and young persons. There are certain basic needs of children which are international: the need for love and warmth; to be understood; to be wanted; to be appreciated; to be respected as a person; etc.

The points above show that there are many features that could be regarded as being common to institutions the world over. Even if we agree that there are numerous differences in cross-national institutions, it does not mean that they cannot be compared. After all, there will be no idea comparing objects if they are "identical twins."

3.12 Problems Encountered in the Survey⁵⁾

One of the difficulties was the limited availability of background information on the schools at the initial stage. A second one was the difficulty in obtaining permission (Clearance Order) for re-entering two of the schools in the Lagos State. A third difficulty was the Headquarters' (Ministries') monopoly and control of official information connected with the schools. Any request for any little bit of official information from the Wardens of the Homes or Principals of the schools had to go through the Headquarters, no matter how minor the type of information. Tie this up with bureaucratic red-tape, then one would have a rough idea of the time it would take to extract any piece of information from these schools. Surveying the schools from a distance was another problem; it would have been relatively simpler and quicker to reach different sources of information had the field-worker been permanently based in Nigeria. The lone-wolf approach added to the difficulties. This approach made it practically impossible to give full coverage to all the pupils in the schools studied as a result of the enormous amount of work involved. But the loss here was compensated for through the gain made in the inclusion of all the Youth Welfare

5) Cf. Clifford's article, "Problems in Criminological Research in Africa South of the Sahara," Clifford (1965, pp. 11 - 17).

Schools in Nigeria, excluding that at Enugu. The small sample created numerous problems in the statistical analysis. In many cases, it was just impossible to apply the multivariate (cross tabulations) analysis. In such cases, percentages were considered and the trend shown instead of giving the statistical significance of the test.

Both the official and un-official statistics were hard to come by in Nigeria, either because some were still being treated as "classified," or difficult to get the sources of their documentation, or extremely difficult to procure them even when the sources were known. In a few cases, there were simply no figures available. Sometimes, where figures were available, it was not easy to test their reliability. So, in some sections of this essay, where one would have expected to see some official statistics, these might be absent as a result of one or a combination of the reasons given above.

3.13 Reactions of Different Nigerian Respondent Groups to the Survey

In the last phase of the field-work, I added a few questions to test the degree of visibility of the institutions and the extent of the stigmatisation phenomenon. I found out that the members of the general public, particularly the uneducated ones appeared apathetic to the problems of the juvenile delinquents and destitutes. These reactions of the uneducated were more pronounced in women than in men. Some of the women expressed the view that there was no idea wasting time on the "stubborn" children. This was rather unexpected, because I felt that as mothers or potential mothers, they would be sympathetic to and empathise with the children. The educated public, however, were positively disposed to the field-work, but most of them did not seem to know much about the existence of the juvenile institutions.

The Extension Officers (After-Care Officers) showed great interest and understanding in the work.

The staff of the institutions in Nigeria were very positive to the survey. However, I noticed that some of the staff members of the Nigerian institutions were not all that open in their answers to the questions. They seemed to be much on their guard, and the more educated members tended to be more so than the less educated ones. The informal, off-the-record conversations were much richer in contents than the recorded interviews. Two factors tended to have accounted for this "safety first" strategy. First, the attempt at being a good citizen. Some people might think that a good citizen is he who always sees positively at the things done or said at his institution. This need not be so. To me, a good citizen is the person who is able to praise where praise is due, and to criticise constructively when and where the need arises. The second factor which I found was responsible for this guarded approach was the fear of the "G. O." (General Orders), i.e. the Civil Service Secret Act. Even after the respondents have been assured of their anonymity and the confidential nature of the research, the fear of contravening the General Orders still remained. One respondent asked:

You mean you want to record this thing? (the interview). As a Civil Servant, you know I will not answer questions on Government policies and political situations!

This clinging to the General Orders was so pervasive and deep-rooted that it took me some time to make some members of the staff talk not about how things were supposed to be, but how they really were. For instance, in one school, while a member of the staff was proudly educating me on the question of the prohibition of corporal punishment⁶⁾

6) It should, however, be noted for the purpose of clarity that corporal punishment has not been abolished at the Nigerian institutions, and the following conditions govern the use of corporal punishment according to "Children and Young Persons (Approved Institutions) Regulations," in Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria. Vol. I, 1959, p. 343.

1. Corporal punishment shall be inflicted only with a cane or similar instrument.
2. It shall be applied either on the hands or on the buttocks over the normal clothing.
3. It shall be limited to not more than six strokes on each hand, or to not more than six strokes on the buttocks.
4. Corporal punishment shall not be administered to girls.
5. No member of the staff other than the warden shall inflict corporal punishment.
6. All punishments shall be immediately recorded in the punishment book kept for that purpose and that book shall be open for inspection at any time by an official visitor.

at the Youth Welfare Schools, a child who was being awarded corporal punishment screamed. I turned to him and asked in a tactful way where he thought the noise came from and what it was all about. It was at this time he told me that corporal punishment was used at the schools, but only now and then.

The General Orders has been the "bully" of the Civil Servants and the country might have lost the services of many able sons because of the anomalies of some of its clauses, particularly the section which prevents Civil Servants from participating in politics.

I will like to crave the indulgence of the reader to quote a long, but beautifully written passage from T. M. Aluko's, One Man, One Matchet, (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd; Ibadan, 1969, pp. 193 - 194), bearing on the General Orders and the Civil Service.

The African doctor from the Government hospital came in at that moment. The two Administrative Officers laughed at the coincidence.

'You two talking politics?' the doctor asked mischievously, sitting familiarly at the edge of Udo's desk. 'You must remember your General Orders.'

'Strangely enough we were discussing the all-important subject of post-mortems,' Udo explained.

'For God's sake think of something else to discuss, not post-mortems,' the doctor said in disgust. 'Anything else. The disqualification of Civil servants from politics, for instance.'

'Yes,' Udo sighed. 'We are all disqualified by the General Orders from discussing publicly our national affairs. General Orders --- this bible of the Civil Service was written by expatriates who had the British Public Service at the back of their mind. In Britain the civil servant does not engage in politics.'

'Does he have to anyway?' the doctor asked.

'That's just the point,' Udo continued. 'The British Civil Servant does not have to engage in politics because there are literally hundreds of thousands of fellow Britons who are outside the Civil Service and who are available to engage in politics both at the national and at the local government levels. The civil servant can therefore sit at his desk to carry out his own assignment, that of implementing policy decisions.'

He paused for a moment to collect his thoughts. 'But here in this country the situation is sadly different. The best brains of the

the country are with a few exceptions all in the Civil Service. Can this country with its limited resources in educated man-power afford to have their mouths padlocked in the Civil Service while second-rate and sometimes semi-literate men are saddled with the very important duty of legislating and taking executive decisions for the State? Can we not have a state of affairs where the civil servant can make his views known publicly on matters on which he is by qualification and experience competent to express views?'

x x x x x x x

The next group of persons that I came in contact with were the officers at the Headquarters. I was given a warm welcome by the Western and Mid-western Social Welfare Officers of different categories and a lot of interest was shown in my work. At Ibadan, three of them were very helpful. The Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development, Ibadan, sent me some useful materials free of charge (gratis). At the Ministry of Home Affairs and Information, Benin City, a highly placed official was very friendly and I had long discussions with her on Social Welfare Services as a whole in the State.

I must add that all the States gave me a free hand in carrying out the field-work once the long processes necessary before granting one permission to visit the schools had been gone through. In short, once the field-work was under way, no State interfered with the conduct of the enquiry.

I established a very good rapport with the pupils at the Nigerian institutions. They were very co-operative and it appeared that they were not "interview-wise." It was a great pleasure talking to and with them. I did not encounter any single refusal among the pupils as far as answering the questions was concerned. Even some pupils who were not included in the sample came to me on their own and wanted to be interviewed.

Chapter 4 DESCRIPTION OF THE INSTITUTIONS, PUPILS, AND STAFF

In a work of this nature, with such a wide scope; for the survey could be said to be descriptive, exploratory, explanatory, and evaluative, all wrapped into one; it is impossible to give all items detailed treatment. So, in order to acquaint the reader with the institutions, and provide him with some information which might help him speculate for himself on certain areas which he thought should have been given a more detailed treatment, I will, in this chapter, describe shortly the Nigerian and Swedish institutions, and give a brief presentation of some background information on the pupils and staff.

4.1 School 1: Iwo Boys' Vocational School

The Iwo Boys' Vocational School is situated two miles from Iwo on the Ibadan-Iwo road. It was founded in the year 1958. It had 57 pupils in it when I visited. The school is divided into the senior and junior dormitories. It is an open establishment. It admits pupils from the three major age-groups (junior boys, 8-12; intermediate boys, 12-15; and senior boys, 15-18 years). It is undifferentiated according to the types of offences committed by the boys. The vocational training given include carpentry and joinery, bricklaying, painting and sign-writing. It has special treatment personnel, especially doctors on a consultant basis.

4.1.1 The Pupils

Two percent of the pupils were junior boys; 16 percent, intermediate; and 82 percent, senior. Eighteen percent of them have lived at the school between 3 months and 1 year, while 83 percent have stayed there between 1 year and 3 years. Six percent had no formal education; 61 percent had low formal education (i.e. less than primary VI or standard V); while 34 percent had high formal education. The school is meant for

only boys. Ten percent of the boys were institutionalised for being beyond parental control; 28 percent for care or protection; and 63 percent for criminal offences.

4.2 School 2: Mapara House Boys' Vocational School

The Mapara House Vocational School is situated at Isheri village, outside Lagos, six miles east of Ikeja. It was founded in the year 1945. The number on roll was 68 pupils. The school is divided into four dormitories: Bajulaye, the most junior dormitory; Falolu, next junior dormitory; Akintoye, next senior dormitory; and Kosoko, most senior dormitory. Mapara House is an open Vocational School. It is a Vocational School meant for the senior boys (15-18 years). It admits both the criminal and the non-criminal offenders. The following are the types of vocational training available at the school: carpentry, painting and sign-writing, sheet metal work and welding, electrical work, bricklaying, and farming. The school has special treatment personnel only on consultant basis.

4.2.1 The Pupils

Three percent of the pupils were of intermediate age; while 97 percent of them were senior boys. Thirty percent of the pupils have stayed at the school between 3 months and 1 year, while 70 percent of them have lived there between 1 year and 3 years. With regard to education, 3 percent had no formal education; 35 had low formal education; and the rest, 62 percent had high formal education. The school admits only boys. Three percent of the boys were institutionalised for being beyond parental control; 54 percent for care or protection; and 44 percent for criminal offences.

4.3 School 3: Isheri House Boys' Vocational School

The Isheri House Vocational School is situated at Isheri village, six miles east of Ikeja. It was founded in 1945. The number on roll was 66 pupils. Isheri House is a Vocational School meant for intermediate boys (12-15 years). It admits both the criminal and the non-criminal offenders. The vocational training given at the school are as follows: carpentry, painting and sign-writing, sheet metal work and welding, electrical work, bricklaying, tailoring, and farming. The school has special treatment personnel only on consultant basis.

4.3.1 The Pupils

Twenty-four percent of the boys are of the intermediate age (12-15 years); while 76 percent of them gave their ages as falling into the senior age-group (15-18 years). The duration of stay for 39 percent of the boys was between 3 months and 1 year; while 60 percent of them have stayed at the school between 1 year and 3 years. Six percent of the boys had no formal education; 67 percent had low formal education; and 27 percent had high formal education. The school admits only boys. Fifteen percent of the pupils were institutionalised for being beyond parental control; 45 percent for care or protection; and 39 percent for criminal offences.

4.4 School 4: Birrell House Boys' Approved School

The Birrell House Boys' Approved School is located at Yaba, Lagos. It was founded in the year 1944. The number on roll was 45. The school is divided into four houses: A, B, C, and D. Birrell House is an open Approved School. It is a junior Approved School meant for boys between 8 and 12 years. Vocational training is not given at this school. All the boys admitted to the school are of primary school age, and all of

them go to school; either the schools in the outside community or the "remedial" classes available in the compound. For the explanation of "remedial" education, see section 2.3.

4.4.1 The Pupils

At the Birrell House, 13 percent of the pupils were between 8 and 12 years of age; 83 percent between 12 and 15; and 3 percent between 15 and 18 years (not the official ages, but their "real" ages as supplied by the children themselves); for where birth certificates are either unavailable or unproduced, doctors and magistrates are empowered by law to estimate the ages of the children. For more information on the implications of age declaration, see chapter 9, foot-note number 3. Fifty percent of the pupils have stayed at the school for less than a year, while 50 percent had stayed between 1 year and 3 years. Three percent had no formal education; 93 percent had low formal education; and 3 percent had high formal education. Three percent of the pupils were beyond parental control; 66 percent were in need of care or protection; and 30 percent committed criminal offences.

4.5 School 5: Obasa House Girls' Vocational School

The Obasa House Girls' Vocational School has its site at Ojerinde Street, close to the University of Lagos Teaching Hospital. The school was founded in 1956. The number on roll was 32. Obasa House is a closed establishment. The Obasa House runs both Approved and Vocational School programmes for girls of all age-groups: junior, intermediate, and senior. (However, throughout the thesis, I have referred to the Obasa House as a Vocational School). The trades available at the Obasa House are: dress making, domestic science, typing, photography, and poultry keeping.

4.5.1 The Pupils

At the Obasa House, 34 percent of the pupils were between 12 and 15 years, while 66 percent were between 15 and 18 years. Thirty-seven percent of the pupils had lived at the school for a period less than 1 year, while 62 percent of the girls have stayed between 1 year and 3 years at the establishment. Nine percent of them had no formal education; 63 percent had low formal education; while 28 percent had high formal education. The school only admits girls. Twenty-eight percent of the girls were beyond parental control; 59 percent were in need of care or protection; while 12 percent committed criminal offences.

4.6 School 6: Forsane Boys' Vocational School

The Forsane Boys' Vocational School is situated about 3 kilometres from Frändefors' railway station; and 14 kilometres north of Vänersborg. The school is divided into different sections: reception centre; special section, called "the Ranch;" new home; old home; the cottage; and a temporary location (section). Besides these, it has a release or discharge section at Trollhättan. The school admits senior boys (between 17 and 20 years). Vocational training given are: car and machine reparation, mechanical work, carpentry, elementary seamanship, gardening, farming, "cow-keeping." Special treatment personnel were only on consultant basis.

4.6.1 The Pupils

At Forsane, all the boys were between 17 and 20 years of age. Sixty-five percent of the boys have lived less than 1 year at the school, while 35 percent of them said they had stayed there between 1 year and 3 years. Sixty-eight percent of the pupils had low formal education, while 33

percent had high formal education. (First year at a "gymnasium" = Higher School Certificate Course or an equivalent was taken as the beginning of the high formal education). The school has only boys. Fifty-eight percent of them were institutionalised for criminal offences, and 43 percent for non-criminal offences.

4.7 School 7: Östra Spång Boys' Approved School

The Östra Spång Boys' Approved School is located about 4 kilometres outside Örkelljunga. It was founded in the year 1908. Number on roll was 25, but the school has a capacity for 40 pupils. The school is divided into four houses (sections). The school admits boys who are between 14 and 16 years, but in a few cases those who are 17 years are also admitted. The school offers primary school courses at the higher level for the pupils. Special treatment personnel are only on consultant basis.

4.7.1 The Pupils

The pupils (in my study) were between 15 and 19 years of age. Ninety-two percent of them have lived for less than 1 year at the school, while 9 percent of them have stayed between 1 year and 2 years. Ninety-one percent of them had low formal education, while 9 percent had high formal education. The school admits only boys. Sixty-one percent of the boys were institutionalised for criminal offences, and 39 percent for non-criminal offences.

4.8 The Juvenile Remand Homes

All the Juvenile Remand Homes in Nigeria are closed establishments. Children (even those under 8 years) and young persons are remanded in such institutions. Of the four Remand Homes that I surveyed, three of them, namely Juvenile Remand Home, Abeokuta; Juvenile Remand Home, Warri; and the Juvenile Remand Home, Sapele are co-educational (for both boys and girls); while the Juvenile Remand Home at Ojerinde Street, Lagos is meant for only girls.

The Remand Home at Abeokuta is situated four miles outside Abeokuta, along the Ibadan-Abeokuta road. The Remand Home at Warri had its pupils accommodated at a hired building along Lower Erejuwa road. That at Sapele is situated along Fonseca road.

The Girls' Remand Home in Lagos was founded in 1948. The Remand Home at Abeokuta in 1958. That at Warri and the one at Sapele were founded in 1961.

The Remand Homes are undifferentiated with regard to the type of offences committed by the pupils. No vocational training is given at the Remand Homes. Special treatment personnel are not available. Those pupils who need treatment are taken by the staff to the hospitals.

4.8.1 The Pupils of the Juvenile Remand Homes

On the whole, 49 pupils were interviewed, see table 3.1. Twenty-five percent of them were less than 12 years; 55 percent of them were between 12 and 15 years; and 20 percent were over 15 years of age. Ninety-eight percent of them have stayed for less than 1 year at the Homes, while 2 percent have been there between 1 and 2 years. Twenty percent of them had no formal education; 67 percent had low formal education; while 12 percent had high formal education. Seventy-one percent were males, and 29 percent, females. Two percent of the pupils were beyond parental

control; 43 percent were in need of care or protection; while 55 percent of them were institutionalised for criminal offences.

4.9 Staff of the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools

Sixty-three percent of the staff members were young officers, i.e. between 21 and 40 years; while 37 percent were old officers, i.e. more than 40 years old. Sixteen percent of them have worked at the school for less than 2 years, while 85 percent have worked at the school for more than 2 years. Twenty-nine percent had low formal education, while 71 percent had high formal education. (Government Class IV/Teachers' Grade III upwards were regarded as high). Twenty-seven percent of the staff were females, and 73 percent, males. Five percent of them were widowed, 88 percent married, and 7 percent single. With regard to their previous job experiences, 63 percent of them had earlier worked mainly with persons; 34 percent had worked with persons and things; while 3 percent gave no answers. Thirty-six percent of the staff members lived outside the school compound; 59 percent lived on the compound, but in different buildings from the pupils'; while 5 percent lived in the same buildings with the pupils on the compound.

4.10 Staff of the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools

Forty-two percent of the staff were between 20 and 40 years, while 58 percent were over 40 years. Twenty-six percent of them had worked at the schools for less than 2 years, while 75 percent had worked at the schools for more than 2 years. Forty-one percent had low formal education; 46 percent high formal education; while 14 percent gave no answers. ("Realskola"/"Folkhögskola" and upwards were taken as high). Fifteen percent of them were divorced; 2 percent widowed; 76 percent married; and 20 percent single. Twenty-six percent of them had earlier worked mainly with persons (e.g. teaching, nursing, social work); 61 percent had worked with both persons and things (e.g. clerical and commercial work,

technical work, domestic and self-employment, etc.); while 14 percent gave no answers. Fifty-nine percent of them lived outside the school compound; 37 percent lived on the compound, but in different buildings from the pupils'; while 3 percent lived in the same buildings with the pupils in the school.

4.11 Staff of the Juvenile Remand Homes

Sixty-five percent of the staff members were between 21 and 40 years, while 35 percent were over 40 years of age. Twenty-five percent of them have worked for less than 2 years at the Homes, while 75 percent of them have worked for more than 2 years at the Homes. Forty-five percent had low formal education, and 55 percent had high formal education. Fifty percent of the staff members were males, and the other 50 percent females. Five percent of them were divorced; 15 percent widowed; 70 percent married; and 10 percent single. Seventy percent of them have previously worked mainly with persons; 20 percent with persons and things; while 10 percent gave no answers. Fifty percent of the staff lived outside the premises; 40 percent lived on the compound, but in different buildings from the pupils'; while 10 percent lived in the same buildings with the pupils on the compound.

Chapter 5 THEORIES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN NIGERIA

In the first chapter, the discussion was centred on crime and punishment in traditional societies. In this, I will try to show that the loci of crime and juvenile delinquency have mostly shifted from the rural areas to the urban centres as a result of the cultural conflict associated with the industrial urbanisation. I will also be showing that juvenile delinquency which is an urban phenomenon in Nigeria just as it is in most parts of the world does not seem to be a very serious problem for and in the society today. Furthermore, the multiple causation theory will be adopted in the explanation of the causes of juvenile delinquency in Nigeria, for it is my belief that no one theory is sufficient by itself to account for all the types of offences committed by children and young persons in the country. I intend, during the process of the discussion of the different theories to present some relevant societal background information.

5.1 Urbanisation

Urbanisation could be put into five groups, namely, political; commercial; agricultural; cultural (arts and crafts); and industrial. The contemporary form of urbanisation in the developing countries is the industrial one. All the other types have been experienced by the inhabitants of some of the indigenous ancient empires, like the Oyo, Bini, Kano, Mali, Ghana, Guinea, and Songhai, in West Africa, at one time or the other in their historical developments.

Most of the large towns in the Empires owed their origin and growth to the commercial activities carried in and around them. Agricultural urbanisation was centred around the fertile river valleys, like those of the Nile, Niger, and Benue. It was not uncommon to find that many large cities grew up as a result of the concentration of certain

artists in the pursuit of their arts, e.g. carving, weaving, leather and iron works; thereby giving rise to the cultural urbanisation. Writing about Ibadan, a traditional metropolis, Mabogunje (1968, pp. 186 - 187) noted its evolution from political urbanisation:

It (Ibadan) grew because an effective power-class was able to guarantee internal peace and security to its specialists, both agricultural and non-agricultural. Like Rome, it grew to an unequalled size because it could subject extensive areas to its domination and control.

The various forms of urbanisation had their dislocative and dis-organisational repercussions, but it seemed that the industrial urbanisation carried in its wake more of these dysfunctions than any other form of urbanisation. This is so because the elements involved in the industrial urbanisation are so new and alien to the societies, that the degree of cultural conflict involved is staggering. On the dislocation of the traditional economic patterns and conditions, Mabogunje (1968, p. 198) writes:

.....the role of these cities has been drastically altered. No longer can their inhabitants thrive on their craft and skill, for these have been rendered useless by the penetration of cheaply manufactured substitutes from Europe. No longer can they easily manipulate the trade of their cities, for now there are better organised and financed European business houses. No longer can they depend for their income on booty from annual raids on their weaker neighbours. In the circumstances, the erstwhile proud soldiers or sons of military chiefs, the former blacksmiths, the woodworkers or the ex-traders in slaves, must all learn the new ways.

The disintegrative forces of the industrial urbanisation are not only evident in the economic sphere, but also in the social, political, religious, and cultural fields. The urban type of society, could be said to be large; heterogeneous; and anonymous. Relationship is for the most part impersonal; secondary social control is predominant; problems of acculturation are acute; families are uprooted from their traditional strong-holds; there is usually a break-down in communications between the different age groups; disorganisation of

the family is present; and unemployment and underemployment are rife.

The above factors either singly or in combination create some marginal men of the cities and instil in others a feeling of worthlessness, helplessness, or that of dissatisfaction with and defiance of the society.

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Juvenile delinquency in Nigeria, is, as in many other African and European countries, an urban problem. Of the 229 pupils interviewed in the first phase of my field-work, 220 pupils (96%) committed their offences in the cities, while only 9 pupils (4%) were involved in their deviant acts in the rural areas.

The urban juveniles seemed to have been over-represented in the sample; for despite rapid urbanisation in Nigeria, one can safely say that more people, including juveniles, still live in the rural areas than in the urban centres. However, the type of statistics which would have been relevant in this case, but unfortunately is not available, would have been the ratio of the age group between 8 and 18 years (the age group of the institutionalised pupils) living in the rural and urban areas in Nigeria.

x x x x x x x

Other writers have come to the same conclusion that juvenile delinquency is an urban problem in those African countries they surveyed. A census by geographical origin of young inmates of juvenile institutions in Morocco over the period 1953 to 1956 disclosed that of the 1,669 cases examined, 946 involved young town dwellers, and only 723 involved young persons from rural areas; whereas over 70 percent of Morocco's population is rural. This fact led Bacha (1962) to the conclusion that juvenile delinquency in Morocco was essentially an urban phenomenon. Raymaekers (1962) found that juvenile delinquency in Leopoldville was growing, in part because of the increasing urban population. Tschoungui

and Zumbach (1962) writing on the "diagnosis of juvenile delinquency in Cameroun," feel that there are no serious juvenile crimes in the country, but the few delinquent acts that crop up originate in the cities. Riby-Williams (1954) pointed out that:

The problem of the delinquent child or the destitute and wandering juvenile is largely confined to the industrial areas and the big towns of Accra, Sekondi-Takoradi and Kumasi.

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However, the urban "vices" should not be exaggerated. After all, some rural offenders who move from the rural to the urban areas might add to the number of the urban criminals. More-over, in the cities, there are more opportunities and temptations than in the rural areas. Besides, wrong-doers are more likely to be referred by their neighbours to the law enforcement agencies in the cities than might be the case in the rural environment. Furthermore, the machinery for the detection of offenders are concentrated more in the cities than in the countryside.

5.2 Deprivation

I will be discussing Cohen's "non-utilitarian" postulate of juvenile delinquency in this section because it appears that some writers might be tempted to use it in explaining the occurrence of stealing among delinquents even in Nigeria. The explanations of Cohen did not fit the Nigerian situation, and they were not meant to either, for he was writing about a different society and a special group (boys from the delinquent subculture), and I will be showing later in this chapter that gangs, as such, did not exist in Nigeria.

In Chapter II, "Facts the Theory Must fit," Albert Cohen (1955, pp. 21 - 48) gives the following as the characteristics of the subculture of delinquent gangs:

Non-utilitarianism; maliciousness; negativism; versatility; short-run hedonism; and emphasis on group autonomy.

Since my interest in this section is in finding out whether the pupils stole for the mere fun of it or whether it was done mostly for the intrinsic values of the objects, I shall limit myself to the first three characteristics, i.e. non-utilitarianism; maliciousness; and negativism. Cohen (1955, p. 26) notes:

Unquestionably, most delinquents are from the more "needy" and "underprivileged" classes, and unquestionably many things are stolen because they are intrinsically valued. However, a humane and compassionate regard for their economic disabilities should not blind us to the fact that stealing is not merely an alternative means to the acquisition of objects otherwise difficult of attainment.

Commenting on the negative characteristic, Cohen observes the "negative polarity" of the norms of the subculture of delinquent gangs to those of respectable" adult society, and hypothesises that the delinquent subculture takes its norms from the larger culture but turns them upside down.

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Gibbens & Ahrenfeldt (eds.) (1966, p. 127) writing about the juvenile delinquents in Nigeria noted that there was usually sufficient food, and stealing for survival was not at all common. I do not wholly agree with this conclusion. Of course, it is usually very difficult to account for stealing, which might be carried out by the delinquents for a number of reasons: for the fun of it; to show off their skills before their companions, thereby gaining additional prestige in the group; as a way of protesting against parental or adult authority. etc. But a close look at the pupils' answers showed that most of them who stole mainly did so because of the utilitarian values of the stolen objects as typified by the following representative extracts:

NP 044: When I was learning work, my mother usually gave me 1s (12 pence) for breakfast and lunch. Later, she started giving me only 3 pence. This was too small, so I started to steal her money to use in buying food.

NP 050: I stole my grandmother's beverages. I did it because she said that I was not to be fed since I played truancy at school.

NP 073: I stole a teacher's identity card and other items in his purse when I wasn't satisfactorily fed at home.

NP 225: I stole six eggs with a view to selling them and getting money with which to eat.

NP 226: I stole money (15 shillings) from my brother. I had no money with which to eat.

NP 228: I stole the 1/4d my father kept on the table. I bought an exercise book with 3d and fed myself with 1/1d.

The examples above show that the stealing of the pupils was very purposeful. They were prevented by their parents and guardians, through deprivation, from satisfying their need (in this case, nutritional one), and had to employ an illegitimate means (stealing) to reach their goal (the satisfaction of hunger). One could ask why the pupils chose to reach their desired goals by employing the illegitimate, instead of the legitimate means. The answer is that as children and young persons, most of them were either still at school or serving as apprentices in one trade or the other and had in the society the "receiver" and not the "giver" status, so, unable to receive sustenance from others or to provide for themselves through the legitimate means (parental support; social security; or employment) which had been blocked by both the parents, guardians, relatives, and society, they had to employ the illegitimate means.

Most of these pupils were not in opposition to the norms and values of the dominant society, but came into conflict with them because of the faulty functioning of the society as far as the pupils were concerned.

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Before I end this section on deprivation, I will like to point out that I was unable to ascertain whether the absolute deprivation suffered by the pupils was due to the poverty of their parents, guardians, or

relatives or through the mal-treatment of the pupils by the socialising agents mentioned above.

5.3 Disorganised Families

In my study, 62 pupils (27%) gave the reason for their deviance as a reaction to the ill-treatment from the biological, or sociological parents, or guardians. Most of these children were not loved and they had to react by either absconding from home and joining up with peers similarly affected in quest for group support, warmth, and understanding, or rebelling against parental restraints and authority, causing them to come under the official category of "beyond parental control." An examination of the pupils' responses showed that the category was not a very adequate one, and should be changed to read either, "too much of parental control," or/and "lack of parental control."

This lack of parental control and care was noted by many respondents from the general public. Below, follows the observation of one of them, as an answer to the question as to what he/she thought caused the institutionalisation of the pupils:

They are the children from broken homes. When I say broken homes, I mean the homes where husbands and wives don't live together; perhaps for one reason or the other, the husband and wife separated; the wife could be in Maiduguri, the husband in Sapoba (these are two cities separated by hundreds of miles; the former in the North and the latter in the South of Nigeria). The mere fact that the child or children have no motherly guidance; perhaps too, the husband might have got another wife who cares less about those children because they are not her children, they allow them do anything they like and they sort of constitute problem to the society.

However, care should be taken in order to avoid an exaggeration of the kind and amount of problems created for the society by these juvenile

delinquents; after all, there are many deviant and "non-deviant" adult individuals and groups of adult individuals that pose real threats to and constitute worse and more difficult problems for the society.

Table 5.1 below shows that for Home C and for the months January to May, 1973, the pupils from "broken" homes were heavily over-represented in the admissions. It should, however, be added that this finding should not be generalised because it was not systematically arrived at. I only stumbled on the idea through some answers given by certain pupils and decided to look a little bit more closely at the problem. More-over, the information covered only five months and just one Juvenile Remand Home.

Table 5.1 Admissions January to May, 1973, at Home C,
Showing the Degree of Intactness of the Pupils'
Families

Months	Number admitted	Parents together		All sepa- rations		Parents separated		Parents sepa- rated by death	
	N	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Jan.	7	4	(57)	3	(43)	2	(29)	1	(14)
Feb.	8	2	(25)	6	(76)	5	(63)	1	(13)
Mar.	12	5	(42)	7	(59)	5	(42)	2	(17)
Apr.	16	1	(6)	15	(94)	14	(88)	1	(6)
May	11	4	(36)	7	(64)	7	(64)	0	(0)
	54	16	(30)	38	(70)	33	(61)	5	(9)

Source: Admission Register at Home C

Separation could be caused by death; long absence of one of the spouses; or divorce. One of the major causes of divorce in the cities in Nigeria seemed to be the loose marriages by mutual consent. Such marriages often lack the usual traditional blessings from the elders and the strong marriage bonds between the families of the bride and bridegroom. Most of such marriages end in failure because

of the youthfulness and the unpreparedness of the couple, and the lack of extended family support and advice when marital difficulties arise.

In the cities, another major type of separation is that between working parents and their children. When the parents go to work, the children are left on their own after school or throughout the day if they are not attending school. The old traditional system where elderly members of the extended families or neighbours took care of the children in the absence of their parents is no longer widely practised in the cities. Day Homes and nurseries are not available to cater for the needs of these pupils. Where they are, there are not enough places and the few places available are extremely expensive for the average Nigerian family. The old system has been destroyed, and no adequate substitute has been found for it. It is surprising, therefore, that many more children left to fend for themselves in this way do not turn out as delinquents.

The impression should, however, not be gained that disorganised families are to be found only among homes which have been affected by separation. A home could be intact, yet inadequate or disorganised. The children from such problem homes or inadequate homes feel unloved and unwanted. Such homes fail to give the child the understanding, warmth, and encouragement which he badly needs to help him wade through the difficult life in the society with the numerous proscriptions and prescriptions. In such homes, the child is usually afraid and feels insecure. Punishment is often awarded pupils from such homes and the relationships between parents and children are not close, generally. Sometimes, the parents transfer their hatred or dislike for each other unto the children, using the latter as scapegoats.

A few examples from the pupils' answers will show the lack of acceptance from and understanding by such parents.

NP 021: My father said I was a witch and refused to accommodate

me. I was taken to the Remand Home and later sent to the Approved School.

NP 102: I ran from Jos to Lagos. My father used to drive me out. I did not know any other place than Lagos.

NP 081: I absconded from school. My father usually prevented me from visiting my mother at Tokunbo, Lagos. That was why I usually visited her from my school.

NP 106: My parents are separated. I wanted to see my mother, but my father refused, so I absconded from home.

5.4 Poor Relationships between Pupils and their Step-Mothers

The relationships between most pupils and their step-mothers were characterised by insecurity, fear, hostility, and bitterness. Such pupils often received no sympathy and love from their step-mothers; rather they were usually maltreated. Some of the children had to take to the streets to seek what they had lacked at home among other pupils in similar situations. Sometimes during their wanderings, they committed some criminal offences, and found themselves in the arms of the law. Even when their abscondings from the homes did not lead to any deviant acts, they were taken into care and regarded as "care or protection cases," if caught in the course of their wanderings.

x x x x x x x

An alarming finding by Oloruntimehin (1973, p. 163) revealed that step-mothers tended to be hostile whether the children's parents have been separated by divorce or death. One would have expected more compassion from the step-mothers on the children whose parents have been separated by death (as was the case with the step-fathers in her (Oloruntimehin's) study, p. 164).

The rationale behind this expectation being that the pupils were placed in the situations they were in, not through their own fault or that of their parents, but due to circumstances beyond their control. That only the step-fathers, but not the step-mothers took

this mitigating factor into account showed the dimension of the negative relationships between the pupils and their step-mothers.

Let us at this stage sample a few representative answers from the pupils to see and read in their own words what had pushed them from their homes.

NP 074: I absconded from home because my father's wife ill-treated me.

NP 078: I usually abscond from home because my father's wife torments me; for my mother has divorced my father.

NP 122: Absconding from home. Because of the wickedness of my father's wife. If I spoilt anything in the house, she would lock and beat me up.

NP 197: I ran away from home three times. Reason: my father's other wives were ill-treating me since my mother left him.

5.5 High Parental Expectations as to School Achievement

In my interview data, 21 pupils (9%) said that they disliked the school or absconded from it. This is, according to me, a high figure. Four major factors seemed to have accounted for the dislike of and truancy from the schools by the pupils. First, was the uninteresting work at the schools in the larger society. Secondly, the punishment at the outside schools. Thirdly, lack of motivation on the pupil's part. And lastly, too high expectations placed on the pupils by their parents and guardians. These parents and guardians seemed to place too high a premium on education. Since the white collar job had a high status in the society, but most parents were either not educated at all or had very low education, they would want to project their desire for achievement unto their children, and gain vicarious enjoyment through the children's educational successes. But the psychical pressure might be too much for the pupils to bear that they might react, by using the avoidance

mechanism; in this case, absconding from the schools in the outside community.

Two concrete examples from my data will help exemplify this parental pressure, even when the children lacked the motivation, and perhaps the capabilities.

NP 082: I absconded from home because they insisted that I should go to school contrary to my wish.

NP 042: I was "school-shy". I told my parents that I would want to learn electrical work instead of wasting my time at school.

The detrimental repercussion of this parental pressure by Nigerian parents on their wards was recorded by Gibbens & Ahrenfeldt (eds.) (1966, p. 126):

Parents exert considerable pressure on their children to make educational progress. Teachers soon get impatient with children who do not make rapid progress, but there are few facilities for backward children or those who need special treatment, so that educational failure is a frequent cause of maladjustment.

Writing generally, and not specifically on the Nigerian situation, Holt (1959, pp. 9 - 10) made some heart-searching observations on how children fail:

They fail because they are afraid, bored, and confused.

They are afraid, above all else, of failing, of disappointing or displeasing the many anxious adults around them, whose limitless hopes and expectations for them hang over their heads like a cloud.

They are bored because the things they are given and told to do in school are so trivial, so dull, and make such limited and narrow demands on the wide spectrum of their intelligence, capabilities, and talents.

They are confused because most of the torrent of words that pours over them in school makes little or no sense. It often flatly contradicts other things they have been told, and hardly ever has any relation to what they really know --- to

the rough model of reality that they carry around in their minds.

x x x x x x

The relatively high rate of abscondings from and dislike of school by pupils points to the need for a closer co-ordination of the roles of the home and the school. The establishment of the position of "Attendance Officers" at the schools in the outside community might be called for. In the past, the class-room teacher, particularly in the village schools, performed both his role and that of the "Attendance Officer." But the position is no longer the same. The teacher's struggle for upward mobility in a society which is beginning to place a high value on material achievement, will not allow him "waste" his precious time in tracking his absent pupils or/and their parents; instead, the time will be profitably spent on reading or carrying out other pursuits which provide surer and quicker passports to upward mobility.

The position is even more so in the anonymous urban environment, where the pupils are regarded more or less as "subjects" and the teachers see their work with them as being over as soon as the school day comes to an end.

5.6 Differential Association

Sutherland & Cressey (1966, p. 81) have summarised the main propositions of the differential association theory as follows:

Criminal behaviour is learned. It is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication. The principal part of the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups. The learning includes the techniques of committing the crime and the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalisations, and attitudes. The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of the legal codes as favourable or unfavourable. A person becomes delinquent

because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law.

x x x x x x x

Table 5.2 below shows the percentage of the pupils who committed their offences in groups and those who committed theirs alone. The table shows that lone wolves predominate. About 88 percent of the offenders committed their offences alone, while about 11 percent of the pupils committed their offences in groups.

Gibbens & Ahrenfeldt (eds.), (1966, p. 127) were surprised when they found out that only 22 percent of the delinquents in Nigeria committed their offences in company with others, and they termed the occurrence an "unusual feature." Their 22 percent and my 11 percent findings indicate that juvenile delinquency is not a group phenomenon in Nigeria.

It appears that the differential association theory is not very valid in the explanation of juvenile delinquency in Nigeria. Especially in the country where social group participation is the rule rather than the exception, one would have expected many more pupils than the 11 percent shown in table 5.2 to have committed their offences in groups.

However, the accidental, petty, and unorganised nature of their offences might be responsible for this low level of group participation; for even those pupils who committed criminal offences engaged mostly in accidental petty thefts mostly from their nearest relatives, and fighting which was not of the gang warfare type, but usually between two pupils.

Table 5.2 Lone and Group Offenders at the
Nigerian Institutions

	N	%
Alone, and uninfluenced	200	87
Alone, but influenced by another/others	1	1
In a group, but pupil initiated action	0	0
In a group, but another/others initiated action	13	6
In a group, but action jointly initiated	2	1
In a group, but action initiator(s) not given	9	4
No offences committed ¹⁾	4	2
	229	101

Some other findings of mine point to the fact that juvenile delinquency could hardly be regarded as a serious problem²⁾ in Nigeria. For instance, the 11 percent who committed their offences in groups could be said to belong to what Yablonsky (1962, pp. 230 - 231) has called the "near group" which he showed to have the following characteristics among others:

Diffuse role definitions; limited cohesion; impermanence; minimal consensus on norms; shifting membership; emotionally disturbed leaders; and limited definition of membership expectations.

Of the 24 pupils in my study who committed their offences in groups, 10 (42%) belonged to groups consisting of 2 - 3 members. One pupil gave the size of his group as being between 4 and 5, while the remaining 13 pupils (54%) did not know how large their groups were.

NP 114: I stole cloth from "Igadu" area. It was an order from our leader called Sunday, "Bros Sunday."

1) These 4 "non-offending" care or protection cases consist of 2 pupils who lost their ways; and 2 others whose parents/guardians placed at the Youth Welfare Schools while they were away on active military service; in the latter case, the Youth Welfare Schools performed the services of "Children's Homes."

2) Oloruntimehin (1973, p. 168), has come to a similar conclusion.

"Bros Sunday," a much older man than the pupil just quoted was the type of leader that Yablonsky has termed the emotionally disturbed type. Such "gang leadership appears as an important fulfillment of the disturbed youth's childhood dreams of glory --- a regressive effort to achieve now what he failed at earlier in life."

NP 209: Some boys stole cigarettes and hid them in the bush. Our gang then went and stole them from the other group.

This was the first and only time that the "gang" was mentioned by any Nigerian pupil throughout the interview in describing the group or association to which he or some other pupils belonged. From the findings above, it can then be concluded that real gangs, as such, did not exist in Nigeria. The few, small-sized, loose, diffuse, and impermanent associations of youths that were found could hardly have posed any serious threats to the society.

Supporting the conclusion above, my interview data show that multiple offenders were not many. Only 9 percent of the pupils committed 2 or 3 offences each, while 91 percent committed only one offence each.

5.7 Summary

Two of the questions I posed in the "foreword" were how difficult the institutionalised children and young persons really were and what had made some of them difficult. This chapter has given us the answers to the two questions. The pupils are not as difficult as some members of the society would take them to be. Juvenile delinquency in Nigeria could hardly be regarded as a serious problem.

The pupils' delinquent acts arise mostly from the social environment. We can trace the factors conducive to delinquency right from the primary to the secondary agencies of social control. The industrial urbanisation has dislocated the family and its primary control functions. The

extended family system with all its merits in creating group-oriented life is disintegrating. The anonymous city environment makes it possible for pupils to be maltreated by parents and guardians who are free from the condemnation of their neighbours. Some of the pupils so maltreated get into association with peers who suffer similar fate, thereby increasing their chances of using group support in neutralising feelings of guilt arising from their deviance. Excessive parental pressure on their wards for educational achievement; lack of motivation on the pupil's part; uninteresting work and punishment at the school make the school's socialising role difficult for it to fulfil.

The "minor" status with its numerous proscriptions and prescriptions, which children and young persons have in the society increases their chances of getting into conflict with the law and the law enforcement agencies and agents.

Chapter 6 OBJECTIVES AND STRATEGIES OF THE INSTITUTIONS

One way of evaluating an institution is to examine how efficient or inefficient it is as an instrument or a means of achieving its stated objectives. This chapter will be dealing, therefore, with the stated objectives of the institutions; the objectives and theories of punishment; and the strategies adopted by the institutions as means for achieving their predefined objectives. These strategies are briefly discussed, but not in order of importance. The only strategy that is discussed in great detail is vocational training since it occupied a central position among the strategies and besides being popular among the Nigerian Vocational School pupils was regarded by all the respondent groups in Nigeria as being very effective.

The juvenile institutions in Nigeria have as their stated objectives¹⁾ the observation, care or protection, reformation, and the rehabilitation of the pupils admitted into them, as exemplified by the following policy statements in an undated pamphlet, Social Welfare, issued by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, Lagos, Nigeria:

---Remand Homes for Boys and for Girls where juveniles are detained before their court appearance or before their cases are finally disposed of. Those so detained are observed, and assisted in the best interest of the juveniles. (p. 8)

--- Reformation is effected through various activities performed in the schools (Approved Schools). This objective is also achieved through vocational training, good conduct, industry and the virtues of honesty etc. Formal education is provided for those attending school before committal and remedial teaching for those backward in school work and those who had not had any formal education. (p. 9)

--- Emphasis is understandably placed on continued good behaviour and sense of responsibility. The After-Care Officers assist a good number of the juveniles with employment. (p. 9)

1) The stated objectives of the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria and Sweden are similar: "In Sweden, Youth Welfare Schools are schools for care, upbringing and education of certain children and young people who have been taken care of by the Child Welfare Boards owing to criminal offence, immoral living, etc." (Socialvården, 1965, p. 13))

6.1 The Objectives of Punishment

The purpose of punishment, it has often been stated, is to deter the offender from committing further offences; to prevent or deter others from committing offences; to protect the community from criminals; to make the criminal pay for his deviance; and to treat the wrong-doer. These objectives could be summarised as the punitive, deterrent, and reformative ones.

Some of the objectives, apart from conflicting with one another, are difficult to realise. Some of them lack legitimacy on the part of the criminal and in other cases the society masks its real intention by giving a pleasant name to an other-wise abominable treatment-form.

6.2 Theories of Punishment

A distinction is usually made between the absolute and relative theories of punishment, (see for example, Lewin, Heckscher, Nelson, 1971, pp. 53 - 63). The absolute theory of punishment which regards punishment as a goal in itself and not as a means to an end has been regarded as obsolete. It was an ideology which was quite prevalent in the olden days, examples of which were found in the Mosaic Laws and the Code of Hammurabi of giving an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Besides this retributive form of punishment, the expiatory ideologies of punishment are now thought to be archaic.

6.2.1 Individual and General Prevention

The relative theory of punishment has two components: the individual and general prevention. Andenaes (1969, p. 285) clearly differentiated between these two theories:

In Continental theories of criminal law, a basic distinction is made between the effects of punishment on the man being punished ---individual prevention or special prevention--- and its bearing upon the members of society in general--- general prevention. The characteristics of special prevention are termed "deterrence," "reformation," and "incapacitation."

The individual prevention is supposed to deter the offender through depriving him of his liberty or applying measures which will make him incapable of continuing with his deviance. Sometimes the society attempts to reform the offender through trying to change the unfavourable attitude to society held by the law-breaker.

General prevention is achieved through the moral-building function of the law. The existence of the law and its stipulated punishments will, it is thought prevent a great many people from committing crimes. The deterrent effects of the law will probably be greater if the society notes that the law is firm but fair, that the law enforcement agents are not lax and corrupt, and that punishment is meted out to the wrong-doers consistently and immediately. Andenaes (1969, p. 308) adds that the degree of motivation and the amount of risk of detection as calculated by the potential criminal are also factors to be taken into account while discussing the possibility of citizens conforming by means of the penal law.

x x x x x x x

In Nigeria, the institutions appeared mostly to have adopted the individual or special prevention approach in their treatment of the pupils. Institutionalisation was thought to deter the pupils through depriving them of their liberty and at the same time making it fairly difficult for them to commit new offences. And while they are at the institutions, attempts are made to reform or resocialise them; the strategies used in trying to achieve the stated objectives of the establishments form the subject of the remaining part of this chapter.

However, there seemed to have been some discrepancy between the stated official ideologies and the practice at the institutions. For despite the fact that the institutions used some positive strategies to achieve their stated objectives, there were some practices at the institutions, see chapter 8, which did not seem to conform with their reformatory and rehabilitative objectives.

6.3 Strategies of the Institutions

6.3.1 Physical Training

"A sound mind in a sound body" seemed to have been the rationale behind the adoption of this type of strategy. Physical training and games of various kinds were organised at the schools, but a drawback was the question of insufficient resources. Some of the children did not lose the opportunity to mention the provision of more games materials when they were asked to make some recommendations towards the improvement of the establishments. The pupils were not alone in pointing out the shortage of equipment at the institutions. The table below gives the answers of the staff when they were asked to give their opinion about the amount of the equipment at the institutions. Fifty-one percent of the staff of Schools 1 - 4 said that the schools had not enough equipment, while only 15 percent of those at School 5 felt that the school had too few equipment. Most members of the staff in Nigeria who complained about the paucity of materials mentioned the adverse effects it had on their work. Perhaps one would understand them better by taking a look at table 6.1 below which shows that while only 15 percent of the Nigerian staff thought the equipment in the schools was enough, as many as 56 percent of their colleagues in Sweden believed that their schools were sufficiently equipped.

Table 6.1 Staff's Opinion about the Equipment
in the Schools

	Nigeria						Sweden			
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7
N	12	16	10	8	13	24	59	23	36	59
Enough	17	6	0	0	46	4	15	65	50	56
Few	33	44	10	38	39	42	34	26	50	41
Too few	50	50	90	63	15	54	51	9	0	3
	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100

$$2 + 4 + 6 + 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 18.8 = P < 0.1\%$$

6.3.2 Contacts with Outside Peer-Groups

The pupils belonged to several Boys' and Girls' Clubs outside the schools and participated in Sports Meetings and excursions, the aim of letting the pupils engage in these activities according to the official ideology, being among others to facilitate the Youth Welfare School pupils' resumption of normal life in the society after the expiration of their "Corrective Orders."

6.3.3 Contacts with Parents, Relatives, and Friends

Provision was made for the pupils to continue to have contact with their parents, relatives, guardians, and friends, through week-end and home leave allowances and through encouraging their relatives to pay them visits at the schools. These contacts were supposed to have the functions of helping the pupils avoid the feeling of rejection and aiding them in bearing to a certain extent some of the pains of institutionalisation.

The tables below show the frequency of visits by parents/guardians (table 6.2) on the one hand, and relatives (table 6.3) on the other, covering a 12-month period. Parents and guardians visited the pupils more than the relatives. There was no difference between the two Nigerian Schools in the frequency of visits either by parents/guardians or relatives. (The comparison here is between parental visit in School 2 and parental visit in School 4; visits by relatives in School 2 and visits by relatives in School 4). The same was the case at the two Swedish Schools. However, there was a high statistical significant difference between the frequency of visits by parents/guardians of the Nigerian pupils and their Swedish counterparts. The Nigerian parents visited their wards more often. The same was true of relatives, save that the difference between the Nigerian and Swedish Approved Schools (4 and 7) was not statistically significant, but there was a visually observable difference; 43 percent of the boys in School 4 having had one or more visits from relatives, while only 22 percent of their opposite numbers at School 7 in Sweden were so visited.

Table 6.2 Visits by Parents/Guardians During
a 12-month Period (FIII:10)

	Nigeria				Sweden		
	Schools	2	4	2+4	6	7	6+7
	N	34	30	64	40	23	63
More than twice		77	70	73	15	13	14
Two times		9	7	8	5	0	3
Once		0	10	5	5	17	10
None		15	13	14	75	70	73
		101	100	100	100	100	100

$$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.},$$

$$6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 26.9 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 17.3 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$2 + 4 \text{ \& } 6 + 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 44.8 = P < 0.1\%$$

Table 6.3 Visits by Relatives During a
12-month Period (FIII:11)

	Nigeria			Sweden		
Schools	2	4	2+4	6	7	6+7
N	34	30	64	40	23	63
More than twice	32	17	25	8	5	6
Two times	6	23	14	3	5	3
Once	6	3	5	5	13	8
None	56	57	56	85	78	83
	100	100	100	101	101	100

$$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.},$$

$$6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 7.8 = P < 1\%; \quad 4 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}$$

$$2 + 4 \text{ \& } 6 + 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 10.3 = P < 1\%$$

One could of course argue that the two questions above used to measure the continuance of positive relationships with persons outside the walls were rough measures. For instance, in a more refined analysis, other factors such as the distance between the pupils' homes and the schools; the number of relatives each pupil had; and the willingness of the pupils to request or even welcome visits and visitors, should have been taken into consideration. However, since relatives was broadly defined to include full and half brothers and sisters, nieces, nephews, aunts, uncles, friends, acquaintances, etc., it was likely that most children would have qualified for visits. Parents was used to embrace the biological, and sociological ones including guardians. So, here too, only a few children would be complete isolates.

As far as I was able to ascertain, pupils were not unwilling to accept visits and visitors. Those people who seem to think this a possibility usually talk about the emotionally charged atmosphere for

the pupils when significant others are in face-to-face contacts with them in the school milieu.

As for the distance between the schools, I will only point out the fact that Nigeria is about three times the land area of Sweden, and I had no reason to believe that the Nigerian parents and guardians had shorter distances to cover than their Swedish counterparts. Besides, the Swedish parents had an advantage over their Nigerian colleagues as far as public and private means of transport were concerned.

What then could account for the lower frequency of visits by more Swedish parents and guardians? It might be that the Swedish parents, following a more individualistic nature of the society, would not want to "disturb" the pupils. The pupils themselves, as a result of early social maturation and independence might have felt that they could stand on their own feet and did not need much of moral support from their parents. Or it might be that the parents were too busy in an industrialised and capitalistic society pursuing the material aspects of life with little or no time left to think much about their wards at the Youth Welfare Schools.

6.3.4 Religious Training

Religious practices were carried out in all the Nigerian institutions according to some regulations. It is stipulated in the Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria, Vol. I, 1959, p. 338 that

Every inmate shall receive religious training and instruction in the faith to which he belongs or to which, with consent of his parents or guardian, he wishes to belong.

I did not explore the functions of this strategy systematically, but from some incidental answers to other questions in which the role of religion was dealt with, it seemed as if religion would do

more harm than good to the normal social, educational, and political developments of the children. For instance, when the pupils were asked whether they knew what homosexuality meant, as an introduction to other questions on it, and were asked to give a short definition of it so that it could be ascertained for sure that they knew what it really meant, some of the pupils linked it up immediately with religion by defining it as "Sodom and Gomorrah," and "the thing that God does not like."

In suggesting measures to adopt to reduce the incidence of homosexuality at the schools, a few pupils and even a staff member gave praying to God as their solutions. This is an example of where religion is evoked where it is inappropriate.

Why not make the religious worship voluntary, so that the pupil could choose between enriching himself through secular activities, such as further reading, visiting friends, or engagement in other spare-time activities; and religious service where he is compelled to listen sometimes to "the do as I say and not do as I do" type of sermons.

I think that what the pupils need might just be some simple moral instruction lessons in the form of "the morning devotions" led by the Principals or their assistants (currently practised) and some civics as taught in most of the institutions.

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However, it should be mentioned that religious worship at the Youth Welfare Schools did not differ much from its practice at the ordinary schools in the outside community, but the effects might be different in both communities. Religious instruction at the Youth Welfare Schools, might give rise to guilt feelings in the pupils as they relate some of the sermons to their past behaviour.

6.3.5 Formal Education

The protected environment and routine of the institutions made it possible for the pupils to settle down and attend school classes regularly. There was a rebirth of their confidence in themselves, and particularly for those who attended Village Schools, their self-concept had an extra boost as they observed that they could successfully compete with the "outside" pupils. Another good derived from the attendance of Village Schools was the opportunity created for the pupils to have contact with the outside world, which would it was believed by the officials, facilitate their rehabilitation on leaving the Youth Welfare Schools.

6.3.6 Vocational Training

Institutional work in general has often been criticised on a number of points. In most cases, the inmates are forced to work; the pieces of work are usually meaningless; payment for work done is often very meagre; working-environments are often unsatisfactory; and the work is more often than not monotonous. These conditions either singly or in combination lead to the inmates developing a negative attitude to work, which is thought might be negatively transferred to outside work.

The Nigerian Vocational Schools did not seem to fit into the pattern above. Of the various strategies used in an effort to attain the objectives of the schools, vocational training appeared to be the most important. The official ideology of using it as a means of helping in the rehabilitation of the pupils agreed with the practical realities. A battery of questions was used to test the efficiency of this work training.

The first question asked whether any vocational guidance was given the pupils. While 100 percent of the pupils in Vocational School 2 in

Nigeria answered in the positive, only 23 percent of the boys at a comparable School 6 in Sweden gave similar answers. This difference, using the chi-square test was significant at the 0.1% level.

When the Nigerian boys were asked whether the Occupational and Work Training took too long time to complete, 9 percent felt that it took too long a time; 64 percent said that the time taken was adequate; 14 percent believed the time was too short; while the remaining 14 percent held no opinion.

When asked to compare the time taken to learn the trades inside with that outside, 68 percent of the Nigerian pupils believed the time was shorter inside. Sixteen percent saw the time taken to be the same. Another 16 percent answered that the trades took a longer time inside. From the examples above, one could see the beginning of a whole chain of the pupils' positive attitude towards the Vocational and Work Training given at the Nigerian Vocational Schools.

What type of trades were given at the Nigerian Vocational Schools? Had they any meaning for the pupils or were they merely some useless pieces of work meant to occupy them to avoid the devil finding work for idle hands?

By 1969, at the Girls' Vocational School, Dress Making class had 4 pupils in it; Domestic Science class enrolled 3 girls; Typing class catered for 8; while Photography class took care of 16 girls. At the other Vocational Schools for boys, the trades taught included Carpentry, Painting and Sign-writing, Sheet Metal work and Welding, Electrical work, Bricklaying, and Tailoring. The above is an impressive list of useful trades, particularly in an agricultural society, in contrast to the older, conventional occupations available in most prisons and Vocational Schools.

At the Swedish Vocational School, the vocational and work training given include mechanic and motor mechanic training, carpentry, farming,

gardening, cow-keeping, and seamanship. Thirty-three percent of the Swedish Vocational School pupils did not believe in the usefulness of the occupational and work training (see table 6.6) because they felt that the training was not good. A probable reason for their feeling that the training was not good might be that they did not see the future relevance of the training.

A major obstacle to the establishment of "real" vocational training at the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools seemed to be the shortness in the duration of care (usually between 3 and 12 months).²⁾ Table 6.4 shows the current objective duration of stay at the Nigerian and Swedish Youth Welfare Schools. By current objective duration of stay, I mean the actual length of time that the pupils had lived at the schools during the most recent institutionalisation. There was no difference between the length of stay at the Nigerian Vocational Schools and the Approved School. On the other hand, in Sweden, the Vocational School pupils had longer stay than the pupils from the Approved School. But in general, the pupils from the Nigerian Schools had longer stays than their Swedish counterparts.

2) See Bondeson (1974, p. 369). However, 25 percent of the pupils in my Swedish sample said that they had stayed more than 12 months (current stay) at the schools.

Table 6.4 How Long Pupils had Stayed at the
Schools (Current Stay) (FIIL:7)

	Nigeria			Sweden		
Schools	2	4	2+4	6	7	6+7
N	34	30	64	40	23	63
2 - 3 years	29	17	23	5	0	3
1 yr. - 2 years	41	33	38	30	9	22
6 - 12 months	27	33	30	15	18	16
3 - 6 months	3	10	6	20	35	25
Less than 3 months	0	7	3	30	39	33
	100	100	100	100	101	99

$$\begin{aligned}
 2 \text{ \& } 4 &= \text{N.S.}, & 6 \text{ \& } 7 &= X^2 (1) = 5.2 = P < 5\% \\
 2 \text{ \& } 6 &= X^2 (1) = 9.3 = P < 1\%; & 4 \text{ \& } 7 &= X^2 (1) = 10.2 = P < 1\% \\
 2 + 4 \text{ \& } 6 + 7 &= X^2 (1) = 16.4 = P < 0.1\%
 \end{aligned}$$

However, if the current and previous stays at similar schools were added together, see table 6.5, almost all the differences disappeared, except the difference between the Vocational Schools in both countries. The length of stay at the Nigerian Vocational School being still longer than that at the Swedish Vocational School. Notice here that with the Nigerian pupils, there was no difference between their current stay and their current stay plus previous stays, since there were no recidivists or transfers from one school to the other of same kind among the pupils.

Table 6.5 How Long Pupils had Stayed at the
Schools (Current + Previous Stays)
(FIII:7b)

	Nigeria			Sweden		
Schools	2	4	2+4	6	7	6+7
N	34	30	64	40	23	63
More than 3 years	0	0	0	0	9	3
2 - 3 years	29	17	23	13	4	10
1 year - 2 years	41	33	38	35	30	33
6 - 12 months	27	33	30	15	22	18
3 - 6 months	3	10	6	20	26	22
Less than 3 months	0	7	3	18	9	14
	100	100	100	101	100	100

2 & 4 = N.S., 6 & 7 = N.S. 2 & 6 = $\chi^2 (1) = 3.9 = P < 5\%$
 4 & 7 = N.S., 2 + 4 & 6 + 7 = N.S.

When the pupils were asked to indicate whether they enjoyed the occupational and work training, 97 percent of the Nigerian boys said they did, while the rate of enjoyment on the side of the Swedish boys was 73 percent. Applying the chi-square test, the difference was significant at the 1% level. Among the reasons given by the Nigerian Vocational School pupils for the enjoyment of the occupational and work training were: pupils had earlier practised the trade; "family-trade;" being practical work; satisfactory progress made; good instructions received; interest in the trade; and belief in the certainty of employment after training.

When the question focussed on the usefulness of the occupational and work training, the difference between these two groups became more marked. Ninety-seven percent of the Nigerian pupils believed

in the usefulness of the trades, while only 35 percent of their Swedish counterparts held the same type of belief. Of the 63 percent of the Swedish boys who answered negatively, 30 percent attributed their negative evaluation to the adverse labour market situation, while the other 33 percent felt that the training was not just good. The answers are tabulated in table 6.6 below.

Table 6.6 Usefulness of Occupational and Work
Training (FIII:39)

	Nigeria	Sweden
Schools	2	6
N	34	40
Yes	97	35
No, difficult to get work now, even with good training	0	30
No, the training is not good	0	33
No answer	3	3
	100	101

$$2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 30.5 = P < 0.1\%$$

6.3.6.1 Usefulness of Occupational Training: Real or Imaginary?

In order to ascertain whether the occupational and work training is of actual use to the pupils, certain factors are to be considered. These include the type of trade learnt; the sort of certificate possessed by the pupils; the salary scale for the holders of such certificates; the demand by the labour market for people equipped with particular technical skills and the supply of such skilled and semi-skilled workers; and the competition involved in the procurement of a suitable employment.

The usefulness of the pupils' vocational and work training was a real one, for we have earlier, in section 6.3.6 seen an impressive list of useful trades that were taught them at the Vocational Schools. Most of the pupils passed out from the Vocational Schools with the Government Class III Trade Test Certificate. The Trade Test Syllabuses, (Federal Republic of Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Labour, FGP 1560 (70)/771/5,000, p. 5) gives the conditions for the award of this certificate:

A Class III test will comprise practical work designed to determine that the candidate is fully capable of using the hand tools or basic machines of the trade. Oral questions may also be asked.

It is expected that candidates for a Class III test should normally have a total of three years experience in their trade.

At the end of the pupils' training, working tools were provided them and the Social Welfare Ministries and or the Extension Offices (After-Care Offices) helped secure employment for them. So, it was little wonder that none of the Nigerian pupils saw the labour market as presenting any obstacles.

If we turned to the examination of the salary scales for holders of the Government Class III Trade Test Certificate, we found that the pupils' earning capacities compared favourably with the average Nigerian worker's.³⁾ A pupil who holds such a certificate from a Vocational School receives 424 Nigerian naira per annum, just as any other trades-man in the outside community who has similar skills or qualifications. In other words, the policy followed by the government and private employers is equal pay for equal qualifications, no matter who has them or from where they are obtained.

3) The holder of a Teachers' Grade III Certificate (awarded after a two-year-course at a Teacher Training College) starts on a salary scale of 426 Nigerian naira per annum, for example. The scales of salaries referred to were those valid after the "Adebo award."

6.3.6.2 Vocational Training and Pupils' Time Perspective

Since most pupils enjoyed their occupational and work training and believed in the usefulness of these; their time-perspective might consequently be influenced by the ameliorative mechanism of the work therapy. An examination of table 6.7 appeared to confirm this hypothesis, particularly for the Vocational School boys, where 75 percent of the pupils saw the duration of care to have been just adequate or too short, while only 25 percent answered that it was too long. At the Boys' Approved School, where no vocational training was given, the percentage answering "just adequate" was 47, while 53 percent said that the time was too long.

But sex appeared to have acted as an intervening variable, thereby reducing to some extent the positive effects of the work therapy on the pupils' time perspective; for even though vocational training was given at the Girls' Vocational School, only 44 percent of the girls saw the time as being just adequate or too short, while as many as 56 percent of them said that the time was too long. The result from this school was more like the one obtained from the Boys' Approved School. One would have expected it to be nearer the opinion expressed at the other Vocational Schools.

At the purely Custodial Homes, one noticed a big difference between the opinions of the boys and girls, (see table 6.7). While 43 percent of the Remand Home boys saw the time as being just adequate or too short, only 14 percent of the girls felt the same way. Fifty-seven percent of the boys, but as many as 86 percent of the girls believed that the duration of care was too long.

Owing to the smallness of the samples, and the fact that there was only one Vocational School for the girls, it was difficult to apply the multivariate analysis with a view to separating the variables and reducing the chances of the appearances of some spurious relationships.

However, one fact came out fairly clearly, and that was, that for the boys of the Vocational Schools, the occupational and work training have affected positively their time perspective; for to a direct question (RIII:5), School R2, on their opinion about the duration of care if no trades had been taught them at the Vocational Schools, as many as 86 percent said that the time would have seemed much longer, while the remaining 14 percent held no opinion.

Table 6.7 Nigerian Pupils' Opinion about the Duration of Care (FIII:40)

Schools and Homes	Homes	Homes	Vocational School	Approved School	Vocational Schools
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Boys
N	14	35	32	30	118
Just adequate	14	34	38	47	66
Too long	86	57	56	53	25
Too short	0	9	6	0	9
	100	100	100	100	100

6.3.6.3 Vocational Training and the Concept of "Less-eligibility."

The pupils might have compared themselves with their comrades outside and felt that they were much better off being in than out. This situation was referred to by Clifford (1964, p. 30) as that of "less-eligibility:"

The young person who has been committed to a school by a court receives the benefit of an education or trade training which may be denied to other children who have not been delinquent.

In order to see how valid the "less-eligibility" theory was as far as the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils were concerned, I put three related questions to both the pupils and staff of School R2. The first question asked respondents to indicate whether the pupils would have had the opportunity to learn the same or similar trades as the ones they were being taught at the schools had they been outside.

I had thought that most pupils would have attributed their inability to do so to the poor economic states of their parents, guardians, and relatives. But contrary to my expectation, it was the unsettled nature of these boys when they were outside that was given as the major reason by both the teachers and the pupils. However, there were three main points of departure between the two groups. First, while 16 percent of the pupils believed they would have had the opportunity, none of the staff members thought the same way. Secondly, while only 32 percent of the boys attributed their lack of opportunity to their unsettled state outside, as many as 69 percent of the staff gave similar answers. Thirdly, some of the reasons given by the pupils, but not mentioned by the staff, were that the pupils would have been attending school; that the pupils (seen from the perspective of the general public outside) would have been too old to learn work; and lastly, that the pupils would have preferred academic work to technical work, since the former had higher status than the latter in the outside society.

When the respondents were asked if the pupils would come back willingly to do a higher course at the school after the initial training, 63 percent of the pupils answered positively, while 37 percent of them gave negative answers. On the staff's side, the positive answers were as high as 92 percent. Among the reasons given by the pupils for their willingness to return to the school were the suitable instructions given at the school; benefit to be derived from the initial training; and the school's protective atmosphere which enhanced the pupils' capabilities to settle down,

thereby creating an atmosphere conducive to the practice of the trades.

There was almost a complete agreement between the pupils and the staff members when they were asked whether they thought the pupils' comrades outside felt that the Vocational School boys were lucky in being at the Vocational Schools because of the occupational and work training they received. The answers are tabulated in table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Whether Comrades Feel that the Vocational School Pupils are Lucky because of the Trades taught them

	Pupils R2	Staff R2
N	19	13
Yes	74	77
No	21	23
No answer	5	0
	100	100

However, one should be very wary in the interpretation of the results and figures above because I do not think that any pupil would purposely commit an offence in order to have the opportunity to learn a trade at a Vocational School. That as many as 37 percent of them said they would not return to the Vocational School, even with the inducement of the higher course (hypothetically) offered showed that for some pupils the pains of institutionalisation might have outweighed the benefits from the acquisition of more technical skills. One staff member pointed out one of such pains, i.e. stigmatisation when he remarked on the "lucky proposition:"

No, if this is the feeling it is just very small percentage; because some people realise the sort of stigma in being called

an Approved School boy or a boy who is being taken care of by the Welfare.

Clifford (1964, p. 483) has noted how the East African adults in his study unanimously regarded imprisonment as a disgrace and a disappointment to the family and tribe.

There was no confirmation here that prison means nothing to the African. This has often been suggested. Some have held that, with the good food, clothing and considerate treatment, many Africans do not regard prison as a punishment and that some might prefer it to the hardships of life outside. This inquiry refutes any such idea. No African interviewed either inside or outside prison had any liking for the life, and the person sentenced to imprisonment was always despised and regarded as a failure, as someone bringing disgrace and opprobrium to his kith and kin.

6.3.6.4 Vocational Training and the Pupils' Prospects

Vocational Training appeared to have been the raison d'être (reason for existing) of the Vocational Schools in Nigeria. Before this strategy, all others seemed to pale into insignificance. When the respondents were asked to rate as either very good, rather good, neither good nor bad, rather bad, or very bad, the possibilities of the pupils managing, i.e. "doing all right" after leaving the Youth Welfare Schools, the optimistic views were overwhelming. Table 6.9 shows the frequency distribution of the answers.

Table 6.9 How Respondents Rated Pupils' Prospects

	Pupils School R2	Staff School R2	Extension Officers
N	22	13	9
Very good	100	62	56
Rather good	0	31	44
Rather bad	0	8	0
	100	101	100

The rehabilitative role of the work therapy is shown below in table 6.10, where the provision of vocational training dominated the reasons given by the respondents for their optimistic views.

Table 6.10 Reasons for the Respondents' Optimism
Concerning the Pupils' Prospects

	Pupils School R2	Staff School R2	Extension Officers
N	22	13	9
Vocational training provided	50	50	78
Character training received	32	25	22
Vocational training plus character training	14	17	0
No answer	5	8	0
	101	100	100

6.3.6.5 Vocational Training Criticised

Vocational Training was criticised on three main points: First, was the meagre resources available at the Youth Welfare Schools. As a result, there were few or too few materials at the schools and both the teachers and the pupils saw this as a great handicap in their work.

Secondly, during the first phase of the field-work, some children complained about the inability to select an occupation of their choice. However, when one of the Vocational Schools was revisited, this complaint had ceased to be valid. The vocational training was so organised that every child initially had to do farming for about 3 months before being allocated to a trade. When he was allocated to a trade, the trial period in that particular trade was between 3 and 6 months. During this time, his work habits were observed, his interest in the trade noted, and his progress recorded. The combination of these factors and the demand of the labour market determined the pupil's final re-allocation to a more suitable trade or his continuation on the present one.

The third criticism came from a few boys who said that their predecessors "had spoilt the market" for their successors. When they were asked to elucidate on that point, it turned out they were accusing the boys who had earlier left the schools, as being "rate bursters," over-enthusiastic, and too ambitious at their working-place with the result that the Vocational School pupils (according to them) were not usually liked and accepted at their places of work.

The third criticism, should rather be seen as a commendation of the schools which had succeeded in instilling into the pupils some positive work habits. It would only be a matter of time before the pupils adjusted themselves by learning to conform to group norms about the amount of individual production regarded as adequate and justifiable by the group.

Chapter 7 INFORMAL SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AT THE
INSTITUTIONS

Social groupings in most total institutions could be said to consist mainly of the ruling or containing group (the staff) and the ruled or contained group (the clientele). Earlier literature on the relationships between the two groups often described them as antagonistic. Goffman in his essay, "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions: The Inmate World," in Cressey, (ed.), (1966, pp. 18 - 19) noted the basic split between the two groups. Each grouping, according to him, tended to conceive of the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes: staff often seeing inmates as bitter, secretive and untrustworthy, while inmates often saw staff as condescending, high-handed and mean. Social distance between the two strata was often regarded as being typically great and formally prescribed.

This one-sided stereotyped view of narrow hostility does not appear to be valid for all total institutions. The relationships should be seen in the broader concept of the social climate of the institutions. According to Brim, Jr., and Wheeler (1967, p. 82),

The concept of social climate expresses something about the feelings generated by the total set of relations between staff and recruits. Relations may be warm, free, and easy, or harsh and hostile. Both within and between the major social categories there may be a feeling of trust or of suspicion and lack of confidence.

Just as the staff-inmate split proposition has been challenged, so also that which views the inmate culture as one characterised by unflinching inmate solidarity and loyalty. There are those who see the inmates ganging together against their captors; while on the other hand, some argue that the inmates are not a closely-knit group; that group consensus among them is often low; and that many inmates are mostly concerned about doing their own time.

The extent of the inter and intra-group loyalty, solidarity, cordiality, or hostility, will to a great degree depend on the type¹⁾ of institution in question. Street et al (1966, pp. 151 - 191) found high social distance between staff and inmates at the custodially-oriented institutions, while relations at the treatment-oriented ones were informal and close. In his study of Lumley, a Secondary Modern School for boys in the North of England, Hargreaves (1970, pp. 84 - 85) noted a similar informal and friendly relationship between teachers and pupils:

In many respects the relations between teachers and pupils in this school were friendly, sympathetic, co-operative and constructive. Most of the teachers were genuinely concerned about the lives, careers and prospects of the boys in their care, (p. 84).

Where I first arrived at Lumley School I was surprised by the informality of the relations between teachers and pupils, (p. 85).

7.1 Loyalty and Solidarity Among Pupils

In exploring the loyalty and solidarity among pupils, I asked them a number of questions which demanded either telling or not telling on their comrades. I had postulated that the Nigerian pupils were not fully socialised into the peer culture at the institutions, and therefore belonged to the lower degree of prisonisation. (Clemmer (1958) used the term "prisonisation" to indicate the taking on in

1) For studies which indicated that all inmates were not always in direct opposition to the staff and the institution; and showed that inmate attitudes were more positive in treatment institutions than in custodial ones, see Berk (1966), Grusky (1959), Schrag (1954), and Hindman (1971).

greater or less degree of the folk-ways, mores, customs, and general culture of the penitentiary). Furthermore, that they would squeal on their comrades; the squealing being a way of their identification with the values of the dominant society through aiding the community's representatives, namely, the personnel.

This proposition, which unfortunately, failed to incorporate an important traditional value of "mutual concern" or "the keeper of one's brother" role was, however, confirmed.

I will be taking up this concept of "mutual concern" later in this chapter, (section 7.1.1), but meanwhile, let me present some of the figures.

Table 7.1 Whether or not pupil would let staff know if he saw another pupil trying to escape from the school (FIII:48)

	Nigeria						Sweden			
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7
N	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63
Let staff know	96	97	79	100	88	98	92	0	0	0
Not let staff know	4	3	21	0	13	2	8	100	100	100
	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100

1 - 5 = N.S., 1 - 4; 5 = N.S., 1 - 4 = N.S.,

$2+4 \text{ \& } 1+3+5 = \chi^2 (1) = 5.32 = P \leq 5\%$

$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.}, 6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}, 2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 69.8 = P \leq 0.1\%;$

$4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 52.9 = P \leq 0.1\%; 2+4 \text{ \& } 6+7 = \chi^2 (1) = 123.4 = P \leq 0.1\%$

$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 183.26 = P \leq 0.1\%$

Table 7.1 shows that there was no significant difference statistically between all the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, when it concerned squealing on a comrade found trying to escape from the school. However, at Schools 3 and 5, the pupils squealed less on their peers than they did at the other three schools. There was a slight statistical significant difference between the two Schools (2 and 4) which were compared with the Swedish ones and the other Nigerian Schools (the pupils from the "comparable" schools squealed a little bit more than those from Schools 1, 3, and 5).

There was no difference between the answers given by the pupils from the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools which are treatment-oriented, and the Remand Homes which are mainly custodially-oriented. Ninety-two percent of the pupils from the former and 98 percent of those from the latter establishments said that they would adopt the squealing measure.

There was no difference between the answers given by the different sexes; between schools of the same type; and between schools of different types. However, there was a big difference between the cross-national schools; that was why one would suspect the interplay of some cultural factors. (For a discussion of the big difference between the Nigerian and Swedish Schools, see section 7.1.1 below).

Table 7.2 What pupil would do if he saw other pupils stealing food from the kitchen (FIII:50)

	Nigeria							Sweden			
	Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7
	N	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63
Report them		73	65	30	83	44	73	60	0	0	0
Advise them to re- turn stolen food		10	27	36	17	31	22	23	0	30	11
Tell them not to repeat offence		18	6	30	0	16	3	14	13	13	13
Join them		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	3
Take no action		0	3	3	0	9	2	3	80	57	71
No answer		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2
		101	101	99	100	100	100	100	101	100	100

$$1 - 5 = \chi^2 (4) = 26.06 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 1 - 4; \quad 5 = \chi^2 (1) = 4.26 = P < 5\%$$

$$1 - 4 = \chi^2 (3) = 22.54 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 1+3+5 = \chi^2 (1) = 7.45 = P < 1\%$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 36.8 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 36.0 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 6+7 = \chi^2 (1) = 73.5 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 68.04 = P < 0.1\%$$

Table 7.2 above shows that there was no difference between the type of measures that the pupils from the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools and those from the Remand Homes said they would adopt with regard to ratting or not ratting on pupils seen stealing food from the kitchen. Sixty percent of the Youth Welfare School pupils said that they would rat on their comrades, while 70 percent of the Remand Home pupils said they would adopt similar measures. At the Youth Welfare Schools, however, there were variations in the reporting frequencies; Schools 3 and 5 being lower than the other three schools. But the greatest difference was not that between schools of the same type, but between the cross-national schools, for while 60 percent of the pupils from the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria would squeal, no pupil from the Youth Welfare Schools in Sweden said he would adopt that measure.

When the pupils were asked if they had ever heard pupils plan attacks on the staff; all the Remand Home pupils said they had not, while 20 percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils and 52 percent of their counterparts in Sweden replied that they had either sometimes or many times heard of such plans. Asked what measures they adopted, 22 percent of the Nigerian pupils who answered that they had heard, said that they reported the planners to the staff, while the remaining 78 percent applied non-squealing measures which included blame; dissuasion; warning; encouragement; joining in; and keeping aloof. None of the Swedish pupils who heard the plotters reported them to the staff; instead, they adopted the non-squealing measures enumerated above, except "blame".

7.1.1 Squealing: An Indication of "Mutual Concern"

There might be the risk of misinterpreting the Nigerian pupils' answers by taking the high frequency of reports to the staff to mean that there was little loyalty and solidarity among the pupils. There might also be the temptation to apply a type of psycho-analytic explanation in the interpretation of the data, like the one adopted by Bettelheim (1964, pp. 442 - 443) in the analysis of the guilt feelings of Harry, his wish to function as the conscience for all the children, and his effort to control his inner conflict and truancy proneness through trying to prevent others from truanting.

Anyone who went against what he considered desirable standards tempted Harry to do the same. If another child ran away, he felt tempted to abscond. He was not so much interested in keeping the other person from truanting as in not being tempted to truant himself. In other words, in order to prevent himself from running away he had to prevent others from doing so.

x x x x x x x

The Nigerian pupils' actions were guided by the societal value of mutual concern for the well-being of one's neighbours and comrades.

This value is very much appreciated in the dominant society and the pupils seemed to have internalised it fully with the result that even in the institutional milieu, their behaviour was still being guided by it.

The functions of this 'caring' for others are three-fold: first, the person doing the caring derives some vicarious gratification through seeing that his cares are being appreciated; secondly, the person 'being cared for' feels that he is being loved, understood, and accepted. Consequently, he endeavours as much as possible to live up to expectations in order to avoid disappointing those who have some concern for him. The withdrawal of societal affection, respect, and understanding are serious and painful social sanctions²⁾ which the individual will not want to be applied on him. Here lies the third function, i.e. the maintenance of social equilibrium.

At this stage, let us listen to a representative sample of the reasons for squealing on their peers given by the pupils in their own words:

--- To help his future.

--- I do not want his life to exterminate.

--- I like their life to be better like how I want my own to be better.

--- Because anywhere in the world he runs to, the Government will catch him and bring him back. They will give the boy heavy punishment like sending him back to the Remand Home. Before coming here, the boy has stayed in the Remand Home for 1 year, or 9 months, or 7 months. When they see he will not run, they bring him to the Approved School. I will report because I do not want him to go and come back and face punishment.

2. See section 1.2.3 "Social Sanctions in Traditional Societies."

--- Because if he runs out from here again, the parents will be worried and his years of staying here will be increased. And that means that he is spoiling his life more.

--- Because they bring us here to learn sense because when we were outside, we did not do well. If the boy runs, he will not become good. That is why I will tell the officers.

This concern for others was so pervasive that it even extended beyond group lines. A few of the boys said that they would report the potential absconders to prevent the officer in-charge from losing his job and being unable to care for his wife and children.

x x x x x x x

When the squealing was on those who pilfered food from the kitchen, 30 percent of the pupils said they adopted that measure because the deviants were undoing other pupils of their rights. But the majority said they would report the culprits because they felt it was a way of helping them change. As one pupil put it:

--- Because if he steals small, small, very soon he will become "Mighty Joe," or "Oyenusi." 3)

x x x x x x x

Pupils felt that their comrades who were planning attacks on the staff were making things difficult for all the pupils and believed that such actions might up-set the social equilibrium at the schools and said they would rat on the plotters to avoid involving others including themselves. Other reasons given showed that the reporting was meant to serve as a deterrent measure to the plotters; while other answers indicated that the pupils were concerned about the safety of the staff whom they liked, or because the officers were their helpers, or because of the staff's position as parental figures.

3) These were two of the most notorious armed robbers who terrorised the Nigerian citizens at the end of the social and political dis-organisation which plagued the country in the second half of the 60s and the early 70s.

7.1.2 "Pluralistic Ignorance"⁴⁾

The phenomenon of "pluralistic ignorance" occurs when individuals or groups think that they abide less by certain group norms than their comrades or the other groups. However, in reality, it often happens that most of the other individuals or groups break the group norm as well.

In order to test whether the pupils felt that they respected the group norm regarding squealing less than their comrades did; two questions were posed. The first asked them to say what they would do if they saw another pupil trying to escape from the school, and the second, what they thought the other pupils would do.

Table 7.3 shows that "pluralistic ignorance" existed neither in Nigeria nor in Sweden as far as ratting by the pupils on their comrades was concerned. In fact, for four schools in Nigeria, (Schools 1, 2, 3, and 5), the reverse was the case; the pupils felt that they respected the group norm more than the other pupils did.

At School 4, the measure the individual said he would adopt was almost similar to that he thought the other pupils would apply. This close consensus between the individual's respect for the group norm and the respect of the other pupils for it found to exist at School 4 (Birrell House Approved School for junior boys) might be due to the "interviewer effect," or the pupils' answers might have been normatively stereo-typed, that is to say that the pupils answered that one ought to squeal since it corresponded with the norm of the staff.

On the other hand, the older pupils from the Nigerian Vocational Schools might have realised themselves the normative desirability

4) For a fuller discussion of this concept, see Eskola (1971, pp. 57 - 61); Bondeson (1974, pp. 147 - 148); Hauge (1971, pp. 97 - 108); Sundin (1971, pp. 116 - 117).

of ratting and answered in such a way as to show that they kept the group norm better than their peers did.

Table 7.3 below shows that there was a general agreement among the pupils at the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools concerning the individual and group norms on squealing; for while all the pupils said they would not report any child seen to be trying to escape from the school, as many as 97 percent of the pupils believed that their comrades would also not report.

I was unable to ascertain what was responsible for this unique occurrence in these two schools. But I speculated that perhaps the pupils might have so internalised the most inflexible directive in the maxims of the inmate social code,⁵⁾ that of not ratting on a con, that they were convinced that their peers would abide by the inmate code as much as they did themselves.

To summarise, the positive group norm at the Nigerian Schools was to squeal, while at the Swedish Schools, the positive group norm was not to squeal. But it appeared that the norm was weaker at the Nigerian schools than at the Swedish schools.

Table 7.3 Escape of another pupil from the school:
what pupil would do (FIII:48) and
What pupil thought others would do (FIII:49)

	Nigeria								Nigeria								Sweden			Sweden		
	Pupil's Own Measure								Other Pupils' Measures								Own Measure			Others' Measures		
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7	6	7	6	7	6
N	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63	40	23			
Let staff know	96	97	79	100	88	98	92	76	56	39	90	44	72	62	0	0	0	5	0			
Not let staff know	4	3	21	0	13	2	8	24	44	61	10	56	28	38	100	100	100	95	100			
	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

5) Sykes (1970, pp. 87 - 90), discusses the "Rats" and Centre Men. Cloward, Richard A., et al, (1960, pp. 6 - 11), give the rules of the social code of the inmates.

$$1-5 \text{ \& } 1-5 = X^2 (1) = 46.04 = P \ll 0.1\%; \quad 1-4 \text{ \& } 1-4 = 33.42 = P \ll 0.1\%$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 2 = X^2 (1) = 16.0 = P \ll 0.1\%; \quad 4 \text{ \& } 4 = N.S.$$

$$2 + 4 \text{ \& } 2 + 4 = X^2 (1) = 17.8 = P \ll 0.1\%; \quad 6 \text{ \& } 6 = N.S.$$

$$7 \text{ \& } 7 = N.S., \quad 6 + 7 \text{ \& } 6 + 7 = N.S.$$

7.2 Pupil - Pupil Interaction

Using the frequency of discussions among pupils as a measure of the rate of interaction, one saw that this was very high among the Nigerian pupils. The pupil-pupil interaction was higher in Nigeria than in Sweden. There was no difference between the Youth Welfare Schools and the Homes; the pupils answering that they discussed with other pupils several times a day being 86 percent at the former and 88 percent at the latter. But within schools of the same type in Nigeria, Schools 1 and 5 were lower than the other Youth Welfare Schools. In Sweden, School 6 was higher than School 7. Table 7.4 gives the distributions of the answers.

Table 7.4 How Often Pupils Discuss with Pupils (FIII:46)

	Nigeria						Sweden				
	Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7
N		51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63
Several times a day		75	97	94	93	78	95	86	70	48	62
Once a day		6	3	0	7	13	5	6	8	13	10
A few times a week		4	0	3	0	6	0	3	13	0	8
Once a week		10	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0
Every second week		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	3
Once a month		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2
Less often/never		6	0	3	0	0	0	2	8	30	16
		101	100	100	100	100	100	100	102	101	101

$$1 - 5 = \chi^2 (2) = 13.55 = P < 1\%; \quad 1 - 4; 5 = \text{N.S.}$$

$$1 - 4 = \chi^2 (1) = 12.89 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 1+3+5 = \chi^2 (1) = 7.00 = P < 1\%$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 9.5 = P < 1\%$$

$$4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 13.8 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 6+7 = \chi^2 (1) = 21.2 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 16.94 = P < 0.1\%$$

7.3

Pupil - Pupil Relationships

In the previous sections, it was seen that there was a high rate of interaction and solidarity among the pupils. A type of collective responsibility, whereby the pupils tended to act as their "brothers' keepers" was also shown. High pupil-pupil interaction, however, might be an effect of the "forced" proximate life in an institutional environment; but on the other hand it might be an indication of a genuine feeling of togetherness and belongingness. To ascertain the extent of the pupils' satisfaction in these relationships is the task of this section.

Table 7.5 How Pupils Described their Relationships
with other Pupils (FIII:51a)

	Nigeria						Sweden			
	Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7 6-
N		51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23
Very satisfactory		39	74	85	87	72	80	68	43	22
Satisfactory		53	21	15	13	19	17	27	53	70
Unsatisfactory		6	0	0	0	6	0	3	5	8
Very unsatisfactory		2	6	0	0	3	3	2	0	0
		100	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	100

$$\begin{aligned}
 1 - 5 &= \chi^2 (4) = 29.07 = P < 0.17; & 1 - 4; 5 &= \text{N.S.} \\
 1 - 4 &= \chi^2 (3) = 28.37 = P < 0.1\%; & 2+4 \text{ \& } 1+3+5 &= \chi^2 (1) = 6.44 = P < 0.05 \\
 2 \text{ \& } 4 &= \text{N.S.}, & 6 \text{ \& } 7 &= \text{N.S.}, & 2 \text{ \& } 6 &= \chi^2 (1) = 1.2 = P < 1\% \\
 4 \text{ \& } 7 &= \chi^2 (1) = 22.9 = P < 0.17; & 2+4 \text{ \& } 6+7 &= \chi^2 (1) = 26.0 = P < 0.1\% \\
 1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 &= \chi^2 (1) = 20.84 = P < 0.1\%
 \end{aligned}$$

Table 7.5 shows that there was a big difference between the cross-national schools; for while as many as 68 percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils described their relationships with the other pupils as being very satisfactory, only 35 percent of the Swedish pupils felt that their relationships with the other pupils were very satisfactory.

There was no difference between the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools and the Remand Homes. Sixty-eight, 27, 3, and 2 percent of the pupils from the schools described the relationships as being very satisfactory, satisfactory, unsatisfactory, and very unsatisfactory, respectively. For the Homes, the percentages were 61 for very satisfactory, 29 for satisfactory, 6 for unsatisfactory, and 4 for very unsatisfactory.

At the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria, School 1 had the lowest percentage of pupils who described their relationships with the other pupils as being very satisfactory. In Sweden, 43 percent of the pupils from School 6, but only 22 percent of those from School 7 gave similar answers.

It appeared that high frequency of interactions among the pupils was not invariably combined with the satisfaction in the relationships. For instance, 75 percent of the pupils from School 1 discussed several times a day with the other pupils, but only 39 percent of the pupils from the same school described as very satisfactory their relationships with the other pupils. Similar trends were noted at Schools 6 and 7. At the former, the 70 percent dwindled to 43; while at the latter, the 48 percent came down to 22.

For the few pupils from both Nigeria and Sweden who said that their relationships with the other pupils were unsatisfactory or very unsatisfactory, their answers to an open-ended follow-up question threw some light on the reasons for the unsatisfactory pupil-pupil relations. The reasons given for these unsatisfactory relationships were real or imagined "contaminative exposure," bullying and the use of bad language; rejection of useful pieces of advice given by the respondent; and psychical imbalance among some boys resulting from the schools' "mal-treatment" of the pupils.

7.4 Staff - Staff Relationships

Much efforts have been spent in trying to investigate the type of social relationships between the staff and the inmates of correctional institutions. When attention was not directed at the staff-inmate social relations, it was focussed on those among the inmates. Very little attempt has been made to ventilate the informal social relationships among the staff. It might, for example, be necessary to re-appraise the "staff-inmate split" finding of Goffman (1961, p. 7) by emphasising that there could also be communication and social barriers and unsatisfactory relationships among the staff.

For instance, the schools I studied differed greatly in their answers to the three questions used to measure the informal social relationships among the staff. The staff members from the Swedish Schools discussed more frequently among themselves than was the case at the Nigerian Schools. At the two Swedish Schools, 70 percent of the staff at School 6, and 69 percent of those at School 7 discussed several times a day with one another. Such an even distribution was not found at the Nigerian Schools. For the five Nigerian Schools, the percentages of the staff who discussed several times a day with one another were 67, 88, 40, 38, and 31 respectively. The frequencies of discussions were lowest at School 5, followed by School 4, and then School 3.

For a 12-month period, 78 percent of the staff at Swedish School 6, and 80 percent of those at School 7 invited other staff members at least once to their homes. The percentages of the Nigerian staff members who gave similar answers were 75, 69, 90, 38, and 69 respectively. School 4 which was one of the Nigerian Schools that had very low staff-staff discussion rate had the lowest staff-staff invitation frequency.

There was a somewhat reversed situation when the staff were asked to describe their relationships with other staff members. Forty-four percent of the staff from School 6, and 22 percent of their counterparts from School 7 described these as very satisfactory. Their Nigerian colleagues, except the staff members of School 5, were more positive in their judgment. The percentages of the staff members from the five Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools who said that their relationships with the other staff members were very satisfactory were 75, 63, 50, 75, and 15 respectively. School 5 which had the lowest staff-staff discussion frequency also had the lowest percentage of those who saw their relationships with the other staff members as being very satisfactory.

It should be observed that the three variables, i.e. discussions, invitations, and relationships did not co-vary all the time and at all the schools. Only Schools 1 and 2 had over fifty percent of their staff members who gave the most positive answers on the three variables. Sixty-seven percent of the staff at School 1 and 88 of those at School 2 discussed several times a day with the other staff members; 75 percent of the staff at School 1 and 69 of those at School 2 invited other staff members one or more times within a 12-month period; and 75 percent of the staff at School 1 and 63 of those from School 2 described as very satisfactory their relationships with the other staff members. It should be pointed out that the number of staff living on the compound and the location of the staff quarters did not seem to affect the number of discussions or invitations.

What then could account for the disparity in the answers of the staff with regard to the very satisfactory relationships among them? It could be that those staff members who had very high expectations of other staff members might describe the relationships as not being very satisfactory if they felt disappointed in the ways that the others conducted themselves socially or executed their institutional obligations.

7.5 Pupil - Staff Relationships

Intra-group solidarity, cohesion, unity or even antagonism will not be sufficient measures of the institutional climate. Inter-group relationships are an integral part of the whole net-work of social relationships in an institutional milieu. Sometimes, some writers saw conflict or solidarity where none existed as a result of putting too much reliance on the views expressed by only one group. In this section, we shall examine the difference between the intra and inter-group social relationships.

The Nigerian and Swedish pupils had more intra than inter-group discussions; the difference in each country being significant at the 0.1 percent level, using the chi-square test. However, there were differences between the different types of schools and between schools of the same type. The pupils from the Remand Homes discussed less frequently with the staff than the pupils from the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria; the difference using the t-test being significant at the 0.1 percent level. Fifty-three percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils discussed several times a day with the staff, while at similar schools in Sweden, only 21 percent of the pupils gave similar answers.

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At the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, there was no difference when the pupils described their intra and inter-group relationships. Sixty-

eight percent of the pupils described the pupil-pupil relationships as being very satisfactory; and the same percentage gave the pupil-staff relationships similar rating. Fifty-one percent of the Remand Home pupils said the pupil-staff relationships were very satisfactory. The difference between the Nigerian Youth Welfare schools and the Remand Homes was significant at the 1 percent level, applying the t-test.

The percentage of pupils who described as very satisfactory their relationships with the staff at the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools was very low. It was only 10 percent as against the 68 percent in Nigeria. Both in Nigeria and Sweden, there were, however, differences between the schools with regard to the percentage of pupils that described the pupil-staff relationships as being very satisfactory. In Nigeria, School 5 had the lowest, 47 percent; while School 3 had the highest, 94 percent. In Sweden, School 6 was lower with only 3 percent, than School 7 with 22 percent.

The difference was even more striking when one concentrated on the negative end of the alternative answers. While only 3 percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils described the pupil-staff relationships as either unsatisfactory or very unsatisfactory, the percentage at the Swedish Schools was as high as 38. If we broke these percentages down according to the different Schools, we found that in Nigeria, School 5 had the highest, 9 percent, followed by School 2 with 3 percent, and School 1, with 2 percent. In Sweden, 18 percent of the pupils at School 7, but as many as 50 percent of those from School 6 gave similar answers.

The pupils of the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria who said that their relationships with the staff were not cordial attributed the cause mainly to the punishments (both corporal and non-corporal) awarded them. One pupil, however, complained about the degradation suffered at the hands of some staff members, and likened the treatment to that given prisoners.

At the Swedish Schools, the following reasons were given by the pupils for the unsatisfactory or very unsatisfactory relations between the teachers and the pupils: staff's infallibility complex; unapproachability of the staff; staff's over-concern with "letters of the law;" lack of empathic treatment of pupils by the staff; staff members' authoritarianism and conservatism; personnel bearing tales from pupils to persons in authority; and personnel practising favouritism.

Table 7.6 Comparison between Pupil-Staff & Pupil-Pupil Relations (FIII:18a & FIII:51a)

Nigeria										Sweden					Nigeria					Sweden				
Pupil-Staff										Pupil-Staff					Pupil-Pupil					Pupil-Pupil				
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7				
N	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63				
Very satisfactory	53	71	94	87	47	78	68	3	22	10	39	74	85	87	72	80	68	43	22	35				
Satisfactory	45	27	6	13	44	20	29	48	61	52	53	21	15	13	19	17	27	53	70	59				
Un-satisfactory	0	0	0	0	9	0	2	35	9	25	6	0	0	0	6	0	3	5	8	6				
Very un-satisfactory	2	3	0	0	0	3	1	15	9	13	2	6	0	0	3	3	2	0	0	6				
	100	101	100	100	100	101	100	101	101	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	100	100				

1 - 5 & 1 - 5 = N.S.

2 & 2 = N.S., 4 & 4 = N.S., 2 + 4 & 2 + 4 = N.S., 7 & 7 = N.S.
 6 & 6 = χ^2 (1) = 18.4 = P < 0.1%; 6 + 7 & 6 + 7 = χ^2 (1) = 11.8 = P < 0.1%

7.6 The "Definition of the Situation"

It was W.I. Thomas, who in 1928 formulated the famous concept of the "definition of the situation," by which he meant that if men defined situations as real, they were real in their consequences. Robert K. Merton has coined a related phrase, the "self-fulfilling prophecy."

The objective realities and the subjective perceptions do not often coincide; the two groups at the institutions could come to have different definitions of the situations since they are differentially exposed to certain stimuli at the schools. Some of the respondents might give normative stereo-typed answers (see Bondeson, 1974, pp. 84 & 154) resulting from the taking on of the stated official ideologies even though these were not practised in reality. To test the extent of the divergence in the definitions of the situation by the two groups, we shall compare the pupil-staff and staff-pupil discussions on the one hand, and pupil-staff and staff-pupil relationships on the other.

Table 7.7 Staff-Pupil (FII:43) & Pupil-Staff
Discussions (FIII:44) Compared

	Nigeria								Sweden				Nigeria								Sweden			
	Staff-Pupil								Staff-Pupil				Pupil-Staff								Pupil-Staff			
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7			1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7		
N	12	16	10	8	13	24	59	23	36	59			51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63		
Several times a day	58	88	30	63	38	79	58	78	50	61			22	65	82	40	53	53	49	33	0	21		
Once a day	8	0	10	0	8	0	5	4	8	7			8	3	3	13	9	8	7	20	5	14		
A few times a week	25	13	30	38	38	21	27	9	28	20			31	6	12	33	16	19	21	20	22	21		
Once a week	8	0	10	0	0	0	3	4	5	5			22	12	3	3	9	8	11	5	22	11		
Very seldom/second week	0	0	10	0	0	0	2	0	0	0			2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	2		
Once a month	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2			4	3	0	0	3	2	2	3	18	8		
Less often/never	0	0	10	0	15	0	5	4	6	5			12	12	0	10	9	11	9	20	31	24		
	99	101	100	101	99	100	100	99	100	100			101	101	100	99	99	101	100	101	103	101		

$$+ 4 \text{ \& } 2 + 4 = X^2 (1) = 4.8 = P < 5\%; 6+7 \text{ \& } 6+7 = X^2 (1) = 20.7 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$- 5 \text{ \& } 1 - 5 = N.S.$$

Table 7.8 shows that there was the tendency for more staff members to say that they discussed with the pupils oftener than the pupils believed the case to be. For the Nigerian Schools, the difference between the staff and pupil's perspectives was not statistically significant, save the two "comparable" Schools (2 and 4) where a slightly significant statistical difference was observed. The difference was more at the Swedish Schools. While at School 6, 78 percent of the staff said they had discussed several times a day with the pupils, only 33 percent of the pupils from the same school said they had had similar discussions with the staff. Fifty percent of the staff members at School 7, said they discussed several times a day with the pupils in the school; but no pupil from the same school answered that he discussed several times a day with the staff.

However, in Nigeria, Schools 3 and 5 did not fit into the pattern above. At both schools, the pupils answered that they discussed more with the staff than the staff said they did with the pupils.

Table 7.8 Staff-pupil (FII:22) & Pupil-Staff
Relationships (FIII:18a) Compared

	Nigeria								Sweden				Nigeria								Sweden			
	Staff-Pupil								Staff-Pupil				Pupil-Staff				Pupil-Staff							
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+				
N	12	16	10	8	13	24	59	23	36	59	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	6				
Very satis- factory	58	56	50	75	15	63	49	13	6	9	53	71	94	87	47	78	68	3	22	1				
Satis- factory	25	38	50	25	85	33	46	87	92	90	45	27	6	13	44	20	29	48	61	5				
Unsatis- factory	8	6	0	0	0	4	3	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	9	0	2	35	9	2				
Very un- satis- factory	8	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	2	1	15	9	1				
	99	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	101	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	101	10				

$$2 + 4 \text{ \& } 2 + 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 6 + 7 \text{ \& } 6 + 7 = \text{N.S.}$$

$$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 1 - 5 = \chi^2 (1) = 7.04 = P < 1\%$$

On the whole, the pupils tended to describe their relationships with the staff as being very satisfactory more than the teachers described those with the pupils. Once again, Schools 3 and 5 pupils who said they discussed more often with the staff of their schools than the staff discussed with them, also to a much greater extent were very satisfied more with their relationships with the staff than was the case at the other schools.

7.7 Summary

On the whole, at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, antagonism and staff-inmate split were absent. In Nigeria, the social distance between the two groups was not great. The staff were seen by the Nigerian pupils as helpers and parental surrogates and not as old bullies; while in Sweden, particularly at School 6, the pupil-staff relationships were not very close. The Swedish pupils complained about the lack of sympathetic and empathic treatment of the pupils by the staff; believed in the unapproachability of the staff; and regarded some officers as being authoritarian and conservative. In Nigeria, a genuine concern for the welfare of both the teachers and the taught was shown by the pupils. In both Nigeria and Sweden, there was a high rate of loyalty, solidarity and interaction among the pupils. However, at some schools, high interaction did not always co-vary with very satisfactory relationships either with the other pupils or with the members of the staff. There was a big discrepancy in the ways the two groups defined the situation. The staff believed that they interacted more with the pupils than the pupils believed to be so. On the other hand, more pupils described their relationships with the staff as being very satisfactory than the staff described their relationships with the pupils.

Chapter 8 SOCIAL CONTROL AT THE INSTITUTIONS

The sort of rewards (positive sanctions) and punishments (negative sanctions) in an organisation or institution will to a great extent depend on the type of power structure that exists in it. In this chapter, the power structure at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, following Etzioni's categorisation of organisations according to their power structures, will be shown to be of a triple compliance nature, i.e. a combination of the coercive, utilitarian, and normative powers.

The positive and negative sanctions utilised by the formal agents of social control at the institutions will be treated. Of the negative sanctions, corporal punishment will be discussed in detail; first, because it occupies a rather central place in the list of negative sanctions awarded children and young persons even at the ordinary schools and the pupils' homes in the dominant society; and secondly, because its use in Nigeria differs a great deal from that in Sweden where one could say that its application is almost becoming obsolete.

The important part played by the informal agents and agencies of social control at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools will be noted. Of special interest is the prefectship system which will be treated in detail. I will be suggesting that a traditional element be incorporated into the system of self-government among pupils in order to make it more meaningful to the pupils and more useful to the pupils, the staff, and the schools.

8.1 Power Structures

Etzioni (1968, pp. 23 - 67) using the compliance-relation model has categorised organisations into three, namely, coercive, utilitarian, and normative. This model sees the type of compliance to be greatly related to the amount and direction of involvement a person has vis-a-vis other persons in the organisation. The involvement might be one of deep positive commitment or one of detachment or alienation.

8.1.1 Coercive Organisations

The cardinal means of social control in coercive organisations is the use of force. Custodialism is another characteristic of such establishments, i.e. they are chiefly concerned with the task of keeping their clientele in. Institutions for juvenile offenders, custodial mental hospitals, prisoner-of-war camps, and prisons are organisations in this category.

8.1.2 Utilitarian Organisations

Utilitarian organisations commonly referred to as industries comprise mostly blue-collar and white-collar workers. The major means of social control in utilitarian organisations is the use of monetary rewards.

8.1.3 Normative Organisations

Since lower participants of normative organisations are oriented towards high commitment to the organisations, compliance in them usually takes the form of the internalisation of the directives of the organisations which have been accepted as legitimate. Control rests mainly on moral and not material involvement. "Leadership, rituals, manipulation of social and prestige symbols, and resocialization are among the more important techniques of control used," (Etzioni, 1969, p. 40). Examples of normative organisations are religious organisations, therapeutic communities, and political parties.

8.1.4 Power Structures at the Nigerian Institutions

The power structure at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools could be termed "traditional" or triple compliance structure since it embraced

all the three major compliance structures. The schools could be said to employ the utilitarian power where they used some monetary remunerations in the form of the "pocket-money" system.

They employed coercive power by the application of such measures as corporal punishment and manual labour.

The normative power exercised at the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria could be illustrated by the privilege given the pupils to have outside contacts with peer-groups; parents, relatives, and friends. The opportunity given some boys to attend schools outside the institutions, etc. See section 8.3.1, where positive sanctions at the institutions are discussed. These are examples of the use of normative power in effecting the social control of the pupils. The captainship/prefectship and the "Boys' Council" systems, whereby the pupils practised some form of self-government, leading to a positive involvement (commitment) in certain minor institutional matters affecting them, are also social control measures based on normative power.

The Remand Homes were the only institutions that could be clearly compartmentalised into the coercive category.

8.2 Formal Agents of Social Control at the Institutions

Before dealing with the types of social controls, it is necessary to get some insight into the attitudes of pupils towards the staff who are the formal agents of social control at the institutions. I have postulated that the pupils might have legitimised the authority of the staff. This might be due to their seeing the staff as being firm but fair to them. Besides, the highly internalised values of the respect for the elders by children and young persons in the Nigerian society might have helped in these positive beliefs and perceptions. The end product of it all being the mitigation of the "pains" of negative sanctions.

Table 8.1 Whether pupils believe the staff are fair to them
(FIII: 17) and (RIII: 25)

	Nigeria									Sweden		
	Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	R2+R4	1-5	6	7	6+7
N		51	34	33	30	32	64	38	180	40	23	63
Yes, always		82	77	88	83	50	80	97	77	25	26	25
Yes, sometimes		16	18	12	17	47	17	3	21	55	52	54
No		2	6	0	0	3	3	0	2	20	22	21
		100	101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

$$1 - 5 = \chi^2 (4) = 16.66 = P < 1\%; 1 - 4; 5 = \chi^2 (1) = 15.45 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$1 - 4 = \text{N.S.} \quad 2 + 4 \text{ \& } 1 + 3 + 5 = \text{N.S.}$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 19.7 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 17.8 = P < 0.1\%; 2+4 \text{ \& } 6+7 = \chi^2 (1) = 37.4 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 52.82 = P < 0.1\%$$

When the pupils were asked whether they believed the staff were always fair, or sometimes fair, or not fair to them; it was observed that there was no difference between the answers given by the pupils of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils and the pupils from the Remand Homes. Seventy-seven percent of the pupils from the former establishments and 67 percent of those from the latter believed that the staff were always fair. Twenty-one percent of the Youth Welfare School pupils believed that the staff were sometimes fair, while at the Remand Homes, 27 percent of the pupils gave similar answers. The percentages of the pupils at the Youth Welfare Schools and the Remand Homes who believed that the staff were not fair were 2 and 6 respectively.

Among schools of the same type, (the Youth Welfare Schools), School 5 had the lowest percentage of pupils who believed that the staff were always fair to them. This school is a vocational school for girls, and

since it was the only one in the country, it was difficult to say categorically that the difference referred to above was due to sex. The difference might have been an "institutional" and not a sex one. However, since there was no difference among the other schools of the same type, and for the same sex, but a very high significant difference between School 5 and the others, then sex if not a major cause, might be a contributory one.

Between the cross-national schools, the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils believed the staff to be fair to them significantly more than their Swedish counterparts. Table 8.1 above gives the distribution of the answers.

There was a difference, though not statistically significant, between the staff's and the pupils' answers regarding the fairness of the staff (only data from Schools 2 and 4 Revisited). When the staff were asked whether they (the staff) thought that the pupils believed the staff were fair to them, the percentages who answered "always," "sometimes," and "no," were 67, 14, and 19, respectively. On the pupils' side, the percentages were 97, 3, and 0, respectively.

The staff members who answered in the negative felt that the pupils might regard treatment as punishment which would make them feel unfairly treated by the staff. However, the staff members who gave positive answers felt that the parental attitude of the staff, and the impartiality of the officers might have been responsible for the pupils' belief in the fairness of the staff. The pupils on their part believed also, although to a less extent, that the staff were impartial and displayed parental attitude towards them (the pupils). The consistency in the staff's actions was also given by the pupils, as table 8.2 shows.

Table 8.2 Why pupils believed that the staff were fair to them (RIII: 26a) and why staff thought that the pupils believed that the staff were fair to them (RII: 16a)

	Pupils R2 + R4	Staff R2 + R4
N	38	17
Staff's impartiality	42	35
Parental attitude of staff	40	65
Consistency in staff's actions	18	0
	100	100

When the question focussed on the interest of staff in the pupils, a somewhat different picture emerged. More Nigerian Youth Welfare pupils than those from the Remand Homes believed in the interest of the staff in them. This difference was statistically significant at the 0.1 per cent level, applying the t-test. The percentages of the pupils from the Youth Welfare Schools who answered that the staff were greatly interested, a little interested, and not interested were 80, 17, and 1, respectively. At the Remand Homes, the percentages were 61, 23, and 16, respectively.

There was no difference among schools of the same type (the Youth Welfare Schools) in Nigeria. A great many pupils from all the schools believed that the staff were interested in them.

There was a statistical significant difference between the cross-national schools. While only 1 percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils said that the staff were not interested in them, as many as 30 percent of their Swedish counterparts said that the staff were not interested in them.

There was no difference between the staff's and pupils' perspectives on this question (the comparative materials, however, were only

collected from Schools R2 and R4, i.e the schools I revisited). Eighty-nine percent of the pupils from Schools R2 and R4 and 90 percent of the staff from both schools believed the staff were greatly interested in the pupils. Eleven percent of the pupils and 10 percent of the staff believed the staff to be a little interested in the pupils.

The answers to a follow-up open-ended question for the pupils (RIII: 28a) showed the following to be the reasons for the belief in the interest of the staff in pupils:

parental advice received from the staff (50%); correction from the staff when the need arose (29%); kindness of the staff (8%); privileges given pupils (5%); care when one was sick (5%); and no answer (3%).

The following answer which a boy gave as an illustration of the kindness of the staff, though not representative of the pupils' answers, was interesting, nonetheless:

A boy came into the Approved School with one shirt and shorts. An officer gave him two shirts and one pair of shorts. When van fails to come from the Ministry to take boys home on leave, some officers pay the boys' fares from their own pockets.

The staff gave two reasons to account for their feeling that the pupils believed that the staff were interested in them, namely, parental advice given pupils (86%); and kindness of the staff (14%).

Table 8.3 Whether pupils believe the staff are interested in them (FIII: 22) and (RIII: 27)

	Nigeria								Sweden			
	Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	R2+R4	1-5	6	7	6+7
N		51	34	33	30	32	64	38	180	40	23	63
Greatly interested		73	85	88	83	72	84	89	80	3	13	6
A little interested		24	12	6	17	25	14	11	17	58	57	57
Not interested		0	0	3	0	3	0	0	1	35	22	30
No answer		4	3	3	0	0	2	0	2	5	9	6
		101	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	101	99

$1 - 5 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 1 - 4; 5 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 1 - 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 1+3+5 = \text{N.S.}$

$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 52.24 = P < 0.1\%$

$4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 25.81 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 6+7 = \chi^2 (1) = 77.90 = P < 0.1\%$

$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 104.31 = P < 0.1\%$

Table 8.4 Which group of staff (the chronologically older or younger staff) that is fairer to and more interested in the pupils

	Fairness		Interest	
Respondent groups	Staff	Pupils	Staff	Pupils
Schools	R2+R4	R2+R4	R2+R4	R2+R4
N	38	21	38	21
Older group fairer/ more interested	47	67	50	67
Younger group fairer/ more interested	13	5	11	10
Both groups equally fair/ interested	40	24	39	14
Don't know	0	5	0	10
	100	101	100	101

Table 8.4 shows that there was an agreement by both the pupils and the staff that the older members of the staff were fairer to and more interested in the pupils than the younger staff members. However, more pupils than staff saw both groups as being equally fair to and interested in the pupils.

One point which is worthy of mention is that the two groups complemented each other in their roles. The older members played more the instrumental or task role while the younger members took care of the expressive or affective role in a greater extent than the older staff members.

I will just pick out two examples to illustrate the instrumental role filled by the more elderly staff members and the expressive role of the younger staff members. This is not to say that no one group can perform both roles at the same time.

The first example showed the amount of confidence pupils had in the older officers. Two boys went to tell an old officer that they had venereal disease and would want it to be treated by native doctors (using non-pharmaceutical form of treatment), without letting any other person know about their plight. The officer suggested modern treatment method, however, but agreed to the "silent" part of the request.

The second example I will quote verbatim from a staff's answer:

Like footballing or boxing, the young officers are more interested. But if it comes to serious cases or problems, the pupils go to the older officers because they have more patience than the younger officers.

A seventeen-year-old girl from one of the boarding schools for ordinary children in England and Wales studied by Royston Lambert, put the affective role of the younger officers beautifully in Lambert (1968, pp, 27 - 28):

Most staff are very young or have been here for years and years and this is important because those who are young are generally on our wave length and understand the extreme changes in our work and social life.

x x x x x x

The pupils in Nigeria felt similarly, for answering the follow-up open-ended question which asked them to give reasons for answering the way they did, (see table 8.4 above), the following reasons were recorded: easier to talk to young officers because age-gap was not much; understood youth problems better; spoke to the authorities on their behalf; and the young officers considered their requests oftener.

The older staff were seen by the pupils as being more experienced; more thorough in their consideration of cases; they appreciated the older officers' way of treating them like their own children; the older officers were more patient, knew pupils better, and were not in the habit of "ratting" to higher authorities.

8.3 Formal Mechanisms of Social Control at the Institutions

These mechanisms will be broadly divided into two: rewards or incentives (positive sanctions) and punishments (negative sanctions). There is no further attempt to subdivide negative sanctions, for no matter whether one adopts Brown's classification of "physical punishment," and "psychological punishment." (Brown, 1966, p. 384), or Bandura's and Walters' "love-oriented disciplinary techniques and nonlove-oriented methods," (Bandura and Walters, 1959, p. 191), all punishments (negative sanctions) have one thing in common, i.e. the infliction of pain. The pain might be physical, psychical, or emotional.

Holt (1969, pp. 175 and 176) had a very good case against the so-called psychological types of punishment:

The idea of painless, non-threatening coercion is an illusion. Fear is the inseparable companion of coercion, and its inescapable consequence. If you think it your duty to make children do what you want, whether they will or not, then it follows inexorably that you must make them afraid of what will happen to them if they don't do what you want. You can do this in the old-fashioned way, openly and avowedly, with the threat of harsh words, infringement of liberty, or physical punishment. Or you can do it in the modern way, subtly, smoothly, quietly, by withholding the acceptance and approval which you and others have trained the children to depend on; or by making them feel that some retribution awaits them in the future, too vague to imagine but too implacable to escape.

8.3.1 Positive Sanctions

A host of incentives were used to induce conformity from the Nigerian pupils. They included the privilege of attending village schools. This privilege was usually reserved for the pupils regarded as non-absconders. There was the prefectship/captainship system which the well-behaved pupil could be elected into. The "pocket-money" system helped minimise the pecuniary deprivation at the schools. Home and week-end leaves were granted the pupils from time to time. Excursions and other forms of outings were arranged by the schools, but non-conformists were sometimes excluded from participating in these extra-mural activities. There was furthermore the privilege of being allowed to belong to the various Children's Clubs and participate in the activities of these clubs outside the Youth Welfare Schools. Praise, occasional extra treats at meals, and the opportunity to do some outside practical jobs given some pupils were the other types of positive sanctions available at the schools.

8.3.2 Negative Sanctions

It has often been stated by penologists that men are sent to prison as punishment rather than for punishment. Such a change in the conceptions

of the objectives of punishment from the retributive and atonement perspectives that were prevalent in earlier times (see section 6.2 for the treatment of the "Theories of Punishment") to that of the reformation of the deviant has not been completely assimilated in all societies.

The more a country develops, the more it makes use of the so-called psychological types of punishment. I hypothesise, therefore, that the Swedish Schools will make more use of such types of punishment, as deprivation of privileges, withdrawal of staff affection, isolation, etc., than the Nigerian Schools. On the other hand, the Nigerian Schools will make more use of the physical type of punishments, such as corporal punishment.

This is not to say that one type of punishment is better or more effective than the other. For the withdrawal of love to be efficient, as a deterrent measure, for instance, there should have existed a fast bond of affective relationships between the person being punished and the one administering the punishment. We shall be discussing fuller later in this chapter, (section 8.5), the question of the deterrent influence of punishments.

8.3.2.1 Corporal Punishment

This is one of the oldest types of punishment. Monks and nuns were often flogged for violations of some of the rules of the monasteries and nunneries. Self-flagellation was used to induce self-discipline by some religious fanatics. Some highly placed religious dignitaries used flagellation to gratify erotic motives. Some religious whippings were carried out in order to exorcise the devil. Moses gave permission to the nobles who employed servants and slaves to flog them if they failed to perform their duties satisfactorily. Solomon advocated whipping children as a form of correction for wrong doing. Jesus Christ was known to have chastised the money-lenders in the temple with a scourge of small cords. Judges asked guilty parties in some law suits

to be flogged. At the 'flagellation brothels,' sadistic prostitutes used the whip on their masochistic clients. At the ancient Roman festival of Lupercalia, held yearly on the 15th. of February, some women subjected themselves to whipping with a view to becoming fertile.

The brief historical account of corporal punishment given above might be rather frightening to apostles of non-violence. And those of them who would have found solace in the thought that corporal punishment has in the main been abolished in many European countries, would not be so comforted by the Nigerian situation.

Not very long ago, some communities of the Fulani tribe in Northern Nigeria subjected prospective bride-grooms to tests of endurance through whippings. Minor demonstrations of pains were taken as cowardly behaviour, and often led to the cancellation of the marriage.

In contemporary Nigeria, at the yearly ukpalabo festival (celebrated by the people of Utagba-Uno, Utagba-Ogbe, and Onicha-Ukwani, in Midwestern Nigeria), some sick people are flogged with a view to ridding them of their afflictions. Some healthy citizens also ask to be whipped as a protection against diseases. However, it should be emphasised that these are only token whippings (in most cases, just a touch of the whip is all that is needed).

But in at least one of the towns named above, some young men of certain age-groups and age-grades whip one another during the festival. This time, the flogging is really severe, and it functions as an entertainment for the spectators and a show of courage and endurance by the participants.

Judicial birching is still being practised in the country, particularly at the juvenile courts. Mr. Okunola, a Senior Welfare Officer in the Ministry of Economic Planning and Social Development, Ibadan, has criticised this type of negative sanction in his article, "Patterns and Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in Western Nigeria," in (Fourth Annual Conference of Welfare Officers in Western Nigeria, 21st - 23rd

October, 1965):

That judicial birching was so most commonly used, in the three-year period ending 31/3/64, (italics mine), is rather disturbing but there is consolation in the fact that the last two years have witnessed increasing use of probation order. It is not that I advocate an absolute abandonment of flogging a child, but I would unhesitatingly say that judicial birching, that is flogging ordered by a court, is utterly useless and ineffective as a deterrent. In a home where there is a bond of affection between the parents or guardians and the child, or in a school where there is some sort of profit and loss relationship between the teacher and the child, flogging a stable child could be effective and harmless.

He continued by pointing out another dysfunction of judicial birching, namely, the negative attitude that the punished child eventually develops towards the law enforcement agents and the society that they represent:

From my experience with juvenile offenders, the offender sees the police who administers the flogging as an agent of the court which in turn is an agent of "that group of elders who fail to satisfy my needs and who now condemn as asocial the manner I have chosen to satisfy my needs."

x x x x x x x

Solomon's injunction to parents not to spare the rod when dealing with their deviant children seemed to have been heeded by many African parents and guardians. The account given by Mr. Amu Djoletto of the strict and severe discipline employed in the socialisation of the young, particularly in a household that could be described as of the "lower-middle class" in Ghana, perhaps not representative of the whole society, could be a fairly accurate portrayal of some of the attitudes and methods of the primary socialisation agents both in Ghana and in Nigeria.

Amu Djoletto, in his novel, The Strange Man, (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., Ibadan, 1968, pp. 87 - 97) paints a vivid picture of the restrictive and severe discipline at Mr. Lomo's house.

In the following short extracts, Mr. Lomo (Master) is the school teacher; Aunt Adzoa is Mrs. Lomo; Mensa who is Mr. Lomo's nephew is a house-boy. Other house-boys in Mr. Lomo's house include Antwi, Badu, Danso, and Dua.

There are 11 House-Rules in all at Mr. Lomo's, but only two of them which are the focal ones, for our purpose, will be dealt with here.

Rule 1: All fights, even if in defence, are prohibited in this house. Whenever a boy is provoked, it is his duty to report the provoker either to Master or to Aunt Adzoa who will deal with him, (p. 87).

Rule 2: No boy shall steal in this house or take anything into his possession or for his own use without first asking Aunt Adzoa or myself, (p. 95).

Mensa, who was not particularly impressed by the second rule which Mr. Lomo had thought sufficiently water-tight, asked what happened if what one took was one's own and not Mr. Lomo's, remarking that after all they were all in the same house.

'Fool!' roared Mr. Lomo. 'Ask no questions while I'm talking. I can see you're determined to make firm friends with the cane!' (p. 96). (Stress supplied)

Two observations are necessary in connection with the extracts above. First, fighting, especially between young persons of the same sex which was not often regarded as anything serious in traditional societies is perceived otherwise in contemporary agricultural societies. For instance, at the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria, pupils who refrained from fighting and stealing were considered well-behaved by both the pupils and the staff, and such pupils stood good chances of being appointed prefects or captains or given other positions of responsibility.

Secondly, threats of the infliction of corporal punishment (the "Lomo case" above is a good example), and its actual use seem to be frequent in agricultural societies.

Recently, in Nigeria, school boards were called upon to re-introduce corporal punishment in schools. Making the call was the chairman of the Parents/Teachers' Association of the Community Secondary School, Ikenazizi, in Etiti division, East Central State, Nigeria, Chief R. J. Onyeneho who said that it would help curb acts of indiscipline among pupils.

"Young pupils would thus be reminded that they are still in a corrective institution," he declared.

(Daily Times, Saturday, November 11, 1972, p. 2).

x x x x x x

When we examine the use of corporal punishment at the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria, we have to bear the following points in mind. First, that I defined corporal punishment very broadly. It was defined as the infliction of bodily pain as a punishment for an offence. It implies a direct or an indirect contact between the person being punished and the one administering the punishment. Included are flogging (indirect contact); knocking; pinching; slapping; etc. (direct contact). Had corporal punishment been taken to mean only flogging, the number of pupils who answered that they had received corporal punishment might have been less.

Secondly, though a comparative study was not conducted at the ordinary schools, I would hazard a guess, that the use of corporal punishment at the Youth Welfare Schools did not differ so markedly from the practice at the ordinary schools. In some ordinary schools in Nigeria, corporal punishment had been completely abolished. In some, only the Headmaster or his assistant is allowed to cane, with the provision that the name of the pupil flogged, his offence, and the number of strokes administered be stated in the "Punishment Book." But in some schools, these rules are more honoured in breach than in compliance, and most teachers engage in unauthorised, and un-recorded whippings of pupils.

Thirdly, the societal attitude towards the use of corporal punishment has to be taken into account. Many Nigerian socialising agents do not spare the rod in order to avoid spoiling the child. However, corporal

punishment is not being as widely used nowadays as it was a few years ago; but the point to remember here is that many Nigerians might not react too negatively to the use of the cane on pupils (see the views of Mr. Okunola, (p. 143 of this chapter) and Chief Onyeneko's, stated above).

Fourth, there were other types of negative sanctions that were more painful to the pupils than corporal punishment. For instance, at one school, pupils reacted negatively to the fairly constant application of collective punishment, and at another, they complained bitterly about isolation. (For a fuller treatment of isolation, see section 8.3.2.2).

Table 8.5 Reception of corporal punishment by pupils
for a 12-month period (FIII: 29)

	Nigeria							Sweden			
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7	
N	51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63	
More than 3 times	8	3	9	23	6	13	9	0	0	0	
Three times	10	0	9	13	9	6	8	0	0	0	
Two times	14	9	12	10	3	9	10	0	0	0	
Once	8	12	12	13	16	13	12	13	0	8	
None	61	77	58	40	66	59	61	88	100	92	
	101	101	100	99	100	100	100	101	100	100	

1 - 5 = N.S., 1 - 4; 5 = N.S., 1 - 4 = χ^2 (3) = 8.84 = P < 5%
2+4 & 1+3+5 = N.S.

2 & 4 = χ^2 (1) = 8.79 = P < 1%; 6 & 7 = N.S., 2 & 6 = N.S.
4 & 7 = χ^2 (1) = 20.89 = P < 0.1%; 2+4 & 6+7 = χ^2 (1) = 18.35 = P < 0.1%
1 - 5 & 6 - 7 = χ^2 (1) = 21.53 = P < 0.1%

As to the reception of corporal punishment by the pupils for a 12-month period, there was almost a significant difference statistically between all the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools (1 - 5), the chi-square value with 4 degrees of freedom being 9.34 (the level of significance with 4 degrees of freedom at the 5 percent level is 9.49).

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A pattern had emerged from table 8.5, which coincided with the norms guiding the use of corporal punishment in the dominant society. From the table above, it could be seen that School 2 (a Vocational School for senior boys) had the greatest percentage of pupils who did not receive any corporal punishments. This school was followed by School 5 (a Vocational School for girls) with 66 percent of the girls answering that they had not received any corporal punishment. School 1 (a Vocational School for boys of different ages); then School 3 (a Vocational School for intermediate boys) followed in the order named. School 4 (an Approved School for junior boys) had the lowest percentage of pupils who were not awarded corporal punishment for a 12-month period.

x x x x x x x

I have dealt with, though briefly, the norms governing the use of corporal punishment as a form of negative sanction applied by traditional societies on their members who stepped out of line (see section 1.2.3.3). In Nigeria, as in most other traditional societies, corporal punishment is not indiscriminately used. More boys are flogged than girls. Even among the boys, more junior than senior boys are whipped. Early adolescence seems to be the demarcating line, and the society will frown on any parent or guardian who tends to continue the application of this form of negative sanction on any young person above this age. Traditional societies also differentiate between flagellations that are religious, "festive," and "curative." Some native doctors still apply the whip in their attempt to cure some mental patients. In such cases, the people so caned did not lose face or status in the society.

But there are instances where flogging diminishes the prestige of the person flogged. Up to a few years ago, for example, in some Ibo societies,

a thief was paraded through the village, the article he stole (if it was not too big and heavy) was hung round his neck; and he was forced to dance, while being flogged at regular intervals.

In short, ecological factors, social characteristics, and cultural determinants dictate to a large degree the use of this type of negative sanction. Lugard's report¹⁾ in 1902 that 'in West Africa, flogging is a national punishment, carrying with it none of the stigma that it does among the more highly developed peoples,' should, therefore, be taken with some grain of salt.

Milner, in his article, "The Control of Crime in Nigeria," in Excerpta Criminologica, 1964, p. 682, noted that over 2000 adults were caned or lashed each year and there was no record of the number of juveniles caned by the police under order of the courts. He continued by remarking:

But if suitability of a punishment were to depend on the general community's support of it, corporal punishment would certainly be adequate in Nigeria.

The general community's support of corporal punishment might not be due to the fact that it carries none of the stigma that it does among the more highly developed peoples. On the contrary, its suitability or effectiveness might be due to the stigma that it carries even among the "less developed" people, which might act as a deterrent.

Milner (1964, p. 679), was getting nearer the truth when he discussed this deterrent aspect of corporal punishment, by specifying the geographical area affected; because in some parts of Nigeria, the application of corporal punishment on an adult might not have the deterrent effect; but rather that of creating in the person punished a feeling of defiance of the society.

In the North, the Islamic haddi punishment is confined to a very

1) LUGARD, Annual Colonial Report, 1902, pp. 133 - 134, quoted in Milner, (1964, p. 682).

small group of offences. This symbolic public whipping will be carried out in the case of conviction for a few crimes of a sexual or defamatory nature --- and, being required by the Koran, is not subject to judicial discretion. The theory is that the whipping has a greater deterrent effect than any other sanction but, since the punishment has divine authority, the judge may not inquire whether this is in fact so.

x x x x x x

Let us now return to table 8.5. There was no difference between the Youth Welfare Schools and the Remand Homes in Nigeria. Thirty-nine percent of the Youth Welfare School pupils and 51 percent of those from the Remand Homes were given corporal punishment.

There was a big difference between the cross-national schools. At School 7, in Sweden, no pupil was punished corporally for a 12-month period. At School 6, only 13 percent of the pupils said that they had received corporal punishment, and only once each, for that matter. One could conclude that corporal punishment is practically non-existent at the Youth Welfare Schools in Sweden.

Of course, it might be said that it could not have been otherwise, since corporal punishment was formally abolished at the schools as far back as 1947. But the case is not as simple as that; for the abolishment of corporal punishment formally might not automatically mean that its illegal use might not occur now and then.

The whole liberal and permissive attitude starts from the larger society. For instance, a law promulgated in 1966 forbids parents awarding corporal punishment to their children. What I am driving at, is that the Swedish staff had highly internalised the norms of the wider society and were thereby able to give legitimacy to the law. For example, when the staff members were asked to say if they would approve or disapprove the use of corporal punishment²⁾ at the schools; the Swedish staff members were more for its abolition than was the case with their Nigerian counterparts. (Table 8.6 below shows the distribution of the answers).

- 2) There was a slight alteration in the question when it was used at School 7, since corporal punishment had been formally abolished at the Youth Welfare Schools in Sweden. "If corporal punishment were still used at the Youth Welfare Schools," was added to the question.

Table 8.6 Abolition of corporal punishment (FII: 32a)

	Nigeria						Sweden ³⁾	
Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	7
N	12	16	10	8	13	24	59	36
Strongly approve	17	31	20	25	31	29	25	44
Mildly approve	33	13	10	0	8	8	14	31
Undecided	0	0	10	13	0	4	3	17
Mildly disapprove	25	44	20	25	46	38	34	6
Strongly disapprove	25	13	40	38	15	21	24	0
No answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	100	101	100	101	100	100	100	101

$$1 - 5 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2 + 4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 8.42 = P \angle 1\%$$

$$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 11.61 = P \angle 0.1\%$$

To a follow-up open-ended question, the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils gave the following as the reasons for their having been given corporal punishment: infringement of unspecified institutional rules; failure to do daily chores (31%); fighting; malicious damage; assault occasioning harm; rioting (27%); enuresis; noise making; untidiness; giving wrong answers to problems in class/workshop (18%); insubordination i.e. misbehaviour to staff (7%); possession of smuggled goods; indian hemp smoking; homosexuality (6%); stealing (4%); lying and the use of bad language(1%); absconding from the establishment (1%); and others (4%).

Of the few Swedish pupils who said they had received corporal punishment at School 6, as many as 60 percent of them said that they were punished for insubordination; 20 percent of them were guilty of malicious destruction; while the remaining 20 percent gave no reason for the corporal punishment received.

3) There was a mistake in the translation of this question (from English to Swedish) during the third phase of the field-work, so School 6 which was affected was not included in table 8.6 and the subsequent discussion.

From my informal and casual discussions with the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils, I gained the impression that they were not very bitter about the use of corporal punishment on them. They felt that since the staff were parental surrogates, they had every right to give them corporal punishment as long as it was not too severe or unjustly awarded.

However, such an observation should not mislead us into thinking that the pupils would long nostalgically for a re-introduction of corporal punishment into the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria if this were to be abolished, for they were no masochistics. And even though the pupils were not very vociferous in pointing out the demerits of physical punishment, there are enough documentary evidence showing the dysfunctions of this type of negative sanction. Van Yelyr (1957, pp. 182 - 183), for example, has summarised the arguments against the whipping of juveniles:

He believed that the shame induced in the victim was not only injurious mentally and morally, but had a cowering effect. Secondly, it was a slavish treatment, and if repeated, might make the child grow insensitive to blows. Thirdly, that flogging had a tendency to harden the hearts and increase the faults of the children. Fourth, it was considered to be indecent and dangerous. He further argued that whipping destroyed every atom of self-respect and modesty in the child. And he concluded by observing that the exhibition of violence and ill-temper in the parent or the teacher are, owing to the capacity for imitation, likely to be developed in the child.

Bandura & Walters (1959) also noted succinctly the negative effects of physical punishment: anxiety is caused by severe physical punishment, (p. 27); physical punishment and deprivation tend to foster fear and avoidance of parents, (p. 192); physical punishment reinforces hostile and aggressive feelings in the child, (p. 223); physical punishment weakens dependency relations, (p. 310).

x x x x x x x

It should be noted, as a last word in this section on corporal punishment, that many staff members, both in Nigeria and Sweden were fully aware of

the undesirability of corporal punishment, for when those who approved the abolition of corporal punishment were asked to give reasons for answering the way they did, the following reasons were advanced by them: treatment was more effective without corporal punishment; easier for the pupils to readjust in the society; it undermined good relationships between pupils and staff; it was unpleasant, degrading and injurious; force bred aggression; and lastly, the fear that it might be misused by some staff with poor judgment.

8.3.2.2 Isolation

In modern correctional practice, there is the trend towards the softening of the terminology. For instance, guards are now called supervisors, cells are called rooms, isolation is called separation, etc.

But no matter how agreeable these terms are, what they represent still retain their function. The pains of isolation do not diminish just because the word "separation" is substituted for it.

Another point in this connection is the disparity between officially stated goals and ideologies and actual practice. Bondeson (1974, p. 394) noted such discrepancy between the official treatment ideologies with regards to use of isolation at the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools and the real practice at such establishments. She observed that even though the official ideology was that isolation should not have the characteristic (nature) of punishment, the majority of the pupils saw their solitary placements as punishment. The official goal of making as little use of isolation as possible did not seem to have been followed, for more than half the pupils said they had been isolated during two time-periods in her panel-study. (In my own study, see table 8.7, 68 percent of the pupils had been isolated during a 12-month period).

The official ideology guiding the use of isolation at the Youth Welfare Schools in Sweden are stated in Section 47 of the Swedish Youth Welfare

Schools' Regulation. According to this section, the pupil should be isolated:

1. For his own, other pupils', or staff's safety.
2. For the purpose of the prevention of escape.
3. For the maintenance of order at the schools.

In Sweden, pupils between 15 and 18 years were not to be isolated for more than 3 days, while for those above 18, the maximum period of isolation was 6 days.

x x x x x x x

In Nigeria, the official ideology is that separation from other pupils should only be used in exception cases, subject to the following conditons:

1. No boys under the age of twelve shall be kept in separation.
2. The room used for the purpose shall be light and airy and kept lighted after dark.
3. Some form of occupation shall be given.
4. Means of communication with a member of the staff shall be provided.
5. If the separation is to be continued for more than twenty-four hours the written consent of the medical officer shall be obtained and the circumstances shall be reported immediately to the Permanent Secretary.

(Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria, Vol. I, 1959, pp. 338 - 339).

x x x x x x x

At one of the schools in Nigeria, the "cell" was a single room annexed to a part of the boys' dormitory. It was approximately 8 feet long and 6 feet wide. It was extremely poorly equipped, for there were no table, chair, writing materials, bed, or mattress. Just a floor mat was all the room contained. The isolated pupil only spent the nights at the "cell." The length of isolation (real practice) could be between 1 and 6 nights. The type of offenders isolated were frequent absconders, thieves, drug users, homosexuals, and fighters.

Even though Nigerian Schools made very little use of solitary confinement,

see table 8.7 below, some of the few pupils isolated complained bitterly about it and said they were often afflicted with claustrophobia. Others felt that being away from the other pupils even at night was "a hard thing." One could understand them well, when one remembers that the whole society is based on communal and community life and the separation of a pupil even for one night from his comrades could have a traumatic effect.

Table 8.7 Isolation of pupils for a 12-month period (FIII: 28)

	Nigeria							Sweden			
	Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7
N		51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63
More than twice		4	3	3	3	3	3	3	30	39	33
Twice		4	3	0	3	0	3	2	15	17	16
Once		2	6	9	0	13	3	6	18	22	19
None		90	88	88	93	84	91	89	38	22	32
		100	100	100	99	100	100	100	101	100	100

$$1 - 5 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 1 - 4; 5 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 1 - 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2 + 4 \text{ \& } 1 + 3 + 5 =$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 20.0 = P \ll 0.1\%$$

$$4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 28.2 = P \ll 0.1\%; \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 6+7 = \chi^2 (1) = 46.5 = P \ll 0.1\%$$

$$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 79.35 = P \ll 0.1\%$$

There was no difference between the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools and the Remand Homes as far as the isolation of pupils was concerned. Eleven percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils and 4 percent of those from the Remand Homes were isolated for a 12-month period. There was no difference between schools of the same type (the Youth Welfare Schools) in Nigeria.

There was, however, a statistical significant difference between the

cross-national schools; as many as 68 percent of the Swedish pupils, but only 11 percent of their Nigerian counterparts said they had been isolated during a 12-month period.

8.3.2.3 Other Types of Negative Sanctions

Manual labour, deprivation of privileges, ration reduction, and collective punishment were the other types of negative sanctions applied at the Youth Welfare Schools. In Nigeria, manual labour predominated, while in Sweden, deprivation of privileges was the most dominant form of negative sanction. However, School 7 made more use of it than School 6.

In Nigeria, only School 4 was observed to have deprived pupils of their privileges; but just 4 percent of the pupils were affected. Fifty-six percent of the pupils at School 5 had their ration reduced. Ration reduction in this context does not mean "bread and water" diet, but is taken to mean the reduction in the quantity of food given pupils or the denial of pupils of certain important items in a diet, e.g. pieces of meat. School 5 also specialised in the award of collective punishment to the pupils. This type of punishment was greatly resented by the pupils who told me that they hated being used as sacrificial lambs. Collective punishment has many demerits: Innocent persons are punished. This generates a feeling of injustice which in turn might lead to a hatred for the person(s) who administered the punishment, and a feeling of defiance against authorities. It also shows the social control and the detection mechanisms of the authorities as being weak. Further-more, it might force the pupils to gang up against the authorities.

8.4 Informal Agents and Agencies of Social Control at the Institutions

Most correctional institutions nowadays, one way or the other, make use of the informal inmate organisations as social control organs. During

phase one of the field-work, I was, owing to the paucity of background information on the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, forced to concentrate on the formal agents and agencies of social control at the institutions. However, the important role that the informal systems played became very clear as the processing of the data I collected from phase one of the field-work progressed, so in the fourth phase, I had to follow up the informal systems; that is why the materials I shall be presenting in this section will mostly come from the schools that I revisited in Nigeria.

In the examination of the structure and functions of these informal systems at the Youth Welfare Schools, I had a central postulate in mind, and that was that the tendency of man to resist being lorded over might also prevail at the Youth Welfare Schools, and the pupils might see the prefects and captains as more representing the containing group (the staff) than the contained group (the pupils). The pupils would as a result tend to have negative attitude towards these informal office holders and displace some of their aggressions on them.

Let us take the last part of the postulate above. The materials so far presented in this thesis did not support it. We have seen that the pupils had very positive attitude to the staff and the other pupils. Their mode of institutional adaptation might be described as being accommodative instead of antagonistic. One could liken their adaptation form to Merton's "ritualists" or Goffman's "colonisers." Merton (1967, pp. 139 - 157) discussed five modes of adaptations, namely, conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion, that an individual adopts to realise certain culture goals through the use of some institutionalised or non-institutionalised means.

Goffman (1961, pp. 60 - 66) has noted the following six patterns of inmates' adaptations to institutional pressures:

1. "Situational withdrawal": The inmate withdraws from interacting with other inmates. Such a phenomenon is known as "regression" in mental hospitals.

2. The "intransigent line": In this mode of adaptation, the inmate just refuses to co-operate with the staff. This intentional challenge of the institution is seen as an initial and temporary adaptation.
3. "Colonisation": The inmate tries to live a sort of stable life, by toeing the official line, and enjoying the relatively easing of institutional hardships as a reward for good behaviour.
4. "Conversion": The inmate attempts to live up to official expectations by taking on the role of the ideal inmate. Such inmates are the "square johns" of prisons.
5. "Playing it cool": Inmates who adopt this type of adaptation subordinate contacts with their fellow inmates to the higher claim of "keeping out of trouble."
6. The sixth pattern of adaptation could be termed "immunisation." This type of adaptation is achieved by those inmates who have special compensations inside the institution or special means of being insulated from institutional assaults and mortifications.

x x x x x x x

The Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils' positive attitude was not only towards the other pupils and staff, but also the institution as a whole. One of the reasons for the positive attitude towards the schools was the vocational training given at the schools as has already been observed and recorded in this dissertation.

Milner (1964, p. 682) has also noted this high value placed on the acquisition of vocational skills:

.....such is the eagerness to acquire training in a largely unskilled community, that I am assured that the threat of dismissal is from time to time used in Lagos approved schools to promote discipline.

Figure 8.1 below shows pupils' perspectives of life at the institutions as a whole. The Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils gave positive rating to all the items in their perception and evaluation of the life at the institutions.

The pupils from the Remand Homes were also positive in their perception and evaluation of life at the institutions, but to a less extent than the pupils of the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools. The negative institutional perspective that the Remand Home pupils had was on the "easy - difficult" pole of the scale. They saw the life at the Homes as being rather difficult, (see the deep negative gradient in figure 8.1.).

The Swedish Youth Welfare School pupils had the most negative perception and evaluation of life at the institutions. They rated negatively all the items. Their most negative rating was on the "interesting - boring" pair of the scale; which showed that they regarded the life at the schools as being very boring.



Figure 8.1 Pupils' Perspectives of Life at the Institutions

————— Profile for the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools' Pupils
 Profile for the Nigerian Remand Homes' Pupils
 - - - - - Profile for the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools' Pupils

In the Osgood scale (figur 8.1 above), also known as the "Semantic differential," 4 is the neutral point in the seven-point bipolar rating scale. One is the highest score on the positive end of the pole, while 7 is the highest score on the negative end of the pole. In other words, the nearer the check-point is to 1, the more positive is the rating of the concept; and the nearer the check-point is to 7, the more negative is the rating of the concepts by the respondents (movements towards either the positive or negative end of the pole seen as starting from the neutral point). If we take the first pair of words in the figure above, a rating of 1 means that life at the institutions was very, very fair; 2, very fair; 3, rather fair; 4, neither fair nor unfair; 5, rather unfair; 6, very unfair; and 7, very, very unfair.

8.4.1 The Prefectship System

There were some slight differences in the terminology used at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools to describe the informal pupil-leaders. At some schools, they were known as monitors or prefects (terms borrowed from the ordinary schools); at some, captains (a military rank, perhaps a reminder of the military type of discipline that might have been enforced at such schools formerly); and at others, group-leaders (a term borrowed from social work). But for the purpose of this dissertation, I will be referring to all the informal pupil-leaders as prefects, for no matter whether they are called "outline boys," (Street et al., 1966, p. 245); or "'in charge'" (Tanner, 1970, p. 173); they perform similar functions.

Etzioni (1968, pp. 103 - 104) had given three major mechanisms for keeping the elites of normative organisations amalgamated or cooperative:

The first, which might be termed absorption, occurs when potential informal leaders are recruited into full-time organisational positions.

Co-optation, is the recruitment of lower participants who have leadership ability but lack other necessary characteristics.

Collaboration is a mode of inter-elite cooperation which occurs when informal elites support organisational goals without holding any formal position in the organisational structure itself.

x x x x x x

The Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools' staff were aware of the merits of cooperation and the demerits of confrontation and adopted a policy of collaboration with the informal pupil-leaders with a view to maintaining a relatively peaceful social climate at the schools.

Stanton Wheeler has also observed in his article, "Role Conflict in Correctional Communities," in Cressey (ed.), (1966, p. 258) the function of institutional collaboration:

Although the custodial staff and inmate systems may be in conflict on the level of values, the two groups both profit from a stable institutional operation.

x x x x x x x

I used a battery of questions for both staff and pupils of Schools R2 and R4 to explore the structure and functions of the prefectship system. The first question asked the respondents to give the duties of a prefect. These were seen by both groups as: supervision, helping in the maintenance of discipline, control of the pupils, and the allocation of chores (duties) to the pupils.

The next question asked the staff and pupils to indicate the good personal qualities of a prefect or a prospective (potential) prefect. These, according to them were: self-discipline, eloquence, personal cleanliness, resourcefulness, tolerance, god-fearing, quietness, seriousness over trade or class-work, respectfulness to staff, honesty, gentility (modesty), punctuality, trustworthiness, ability to lead, obedience to rules, and being well-behaved (which for both staff and pupils meant abstention from stealing and fighting). The last named quality came highest on both the staff's and pupils' lists. On the staff's side, it (good behaviour) had 20 percent 'mention;' while it claimed 50 percent on the pupils' side.

When the pupils were asked whether they would accept or reject the offer of the prefectship, 37 pupils (97%) said they would accept it, while only one pupil said he would not, because the position demanded much from the office holder.

How did the teachers and the pupils feel about the execution by the prefects of their duties? Ninety percent of the staff and 97 percent of the pupils felt that the prefects did their job well, always. Ten percent of the staff felt that they performed their duties well, sometimes. Only one pupil said that the prefects were not doing their job well. The reason given being that the prefects took bribes.

Table 8.8 shows the social relationships between the prefects and staff vis-a-vis prefects and the other pupils. Fifty percent of the pupils saw the prefects as relating more to the other boys than to the staff. The staff, however, saw the prefects as keeping to the middle of the road course; being equally near to both camps.

Table 8.8 Prefects' Social Interactional Orientations
(RIII: 19 & RII: 3)

	Pupils R2 + R4	Staff R2 + R4
N	38	21
Prefects relate more to the pupils	50	29
Prefects relate more to the staff	34	29
Prefects relate equally to both groups	16	43
	100	101

There was, broadly speaking, no differential treatment of the prefects and the other pupils by the staff as is shown in table 8.9; seventy-one percent of the respondents from either camp confirmed this non-preferential treatment of the prefects. The few pupils and staff members who answered that the prefects were much better or a little better treated gave the following as their reasons for answering the way they did.

- Pupil: A little better. Exemption from manual labour. Captains given more regard by the officers. Captains usually not punished.
- A little better: The captains are told by the officers if something is to happen to them (advance information and warning).
- Much better: extra privileges, like using an additional colour of purple in my dress apart from the khaki one that all boys use.
- Staff: A little better treated: We treat them a bit better because we respect them and call them leaders. You see, if one calls another a leader, one has to respect him and give him some

honour; that is why these other boys do their chores in the morning, the captains do not do the chores; they have to supervise as the officers.

Table 8.9 Treatment of the prefects vis-a-vis
other boys by the staff (RIII: 22 & RII: 6)

	Pupils R2 + R4	Staff R2 + R4
N	38	21
Prefects much better treated	13	10
Prefects a little better treated	16	19
Prefects treated the same	71	71
	100	100

The prefects were seen to be very fair in their treatment of the other boys; 52 percent of the staff and as many as 76 percent of the pupils held this belief. The distribution of the answers is shown in table 8.10. Of course, one could not utopically expect 100 percent fairness from the prefects. As one staff member rightly remarked:

The prefects are very fair, but in some cases, say in the distribution of chores, where some boys are given larger areas and because of one reason or the other some boys might be victimised so giving impartial judgments at times.

Table 8.10 Degrees of fairness in the treatment
of pupils by the prefects (RIII: 21 & RII: 5)

	Pupils R2 + R4	Staff R2 + R4
N	38	21
Prefects are very fair	76	52
Prefects are only fair	11	48
Prefects are not fair at all	13	0
	100	100

The respondents were asked to indicate whether the prefectship system was a good or bad thing for the schools. There was a consensus among all respondents of both groups that the system was a good one, and they gave the following reasons to support their beliefs: administration of the schools was made easier (46% of staff; 87% of pupils); prefects were more acquainted with the boys than either the class-room teachers or the trade instructors (15% of staff; 3% of pupils); the office-holders perform their duties satisfactorily (0% of staff; 5% of pupils); responsibility training (31% of staff; 0% of pupils); indirect rule (self-government) by the pupils (4% of staff; 0% of pupils); and captains as role models (4% of staff; 0% of pupils).

A major function of the prefect-ship system could be said to be according to the pupils and the staff, helping the staff meet their duties by utilising the pupil-elites to supplement their supervision. The following extracts in the pupils' own words are just a few examples of their answers which pointed to the 'extra-staff' role of the prefects:

- They (the prefects) help the officers in their work. So they lessen the work of the officers.
- Because some boys here used to do bad and 'oga' (a big man) will be far away from them. At night, it is only the night watchman with us. We may be fighting, it is only the captain who first reaches there.
- The officers close about 8, or 10 to 8 in the evening and only the captains are with us at night in the dormitories.

Another important function of the system according to both groups was that it provided an informal social control of the pupils. Another cardinal function of the system, seen from the staff's perspectives was that it provided a type of responsibility training for the pupils.

x x x x x x x

Space, however, will not allow us spell out fully the functional implications of the system to both groups; for what is functional to one group might sometimes not be so perceived by the other group. From the reasons given above for seeing the prefectship as a good one for the schools, one notices that there were some differential functional perceptions by

both groups. While only 46 percent of the staff saw the system as helping in the administration of the schools, 87 percent of the pupils (almost double the staff's percentage) saw it in this light. Thirty-one percent of the staff saw the system as providing responsibility training for the pupils; but none of the boys saw it so. To the staff, for example, this function of the prefectship is manifest (IR), i.e. intended and recognised. On the pupils' part, it is latent (UIUR), i.e. unintended and unrecognised.

Levy, Jr., in his article, "Structural-Functional Analysis," in International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 6, 1968, p. 25, following Merton's usage⁴⁾, terms an element:

"manifest" if it is intended and recognised by the participants in the system of action concerned. "Latent" if it is neither intended nor recognised. "UIR" if it is unintended but recognised and "IUR" if it is intended but unrecognised.

x x x x x x

Before we take up the discussion of the "Boys' Council" in the next section, let me briefly state at this point that the entire postulate (see section 8.4) which I posited about the prefectship system was unsupported.

8.4.2 The "Boys' Council"

The Boys' Council which acted as a forum for group discussion among the pupils was a special feature of only one of the Vocational Schools in Nigeria. It was a serious attempt to give the pupils a type of self-government. Through this system, the boys were allowed to participate in the administration of the school. The Members' (Pupils'/Boys') Council enabled the boys handle minor lapses by their comrades, e.g. noise making standing on the line⁵⁾, lateness to role call, failure to dress

4) Merton (1967, pp. 19 - 84).

5) Still practised at the institutions; and even at the ordinary schools in the larger society.

up properly, picking flowers or trespassing on lawns, spitting on or urinating in forbidden places, using bad language, etc.

The Senior Captain was usually the foreman of the Council which was held every Monday evening. Each session lasted between one and one and a half hours. The Senior Captain and his "Councillors" had the authority to award minor negative sanctions against the deviant members. These minor punishments included grass cutting; washing of plates and gutters; pepper grinding; serving at table; other kitchen work; sweeping and dusting, etc.

Membership of the Boys' Council was involuntary in the sense that every pupil automatically became a member on his admission and normally remained one throughout his stay at the school.

8.4.3 The Dormitory or House System

The schools were divided into dormitories or houses and a house-master or mistress with an assistant was in charge of each house. These office-holders acted as a type of cottage parents. The pupils took great pride in their houses and competed wholesomely with the members of the other houses. Most of the pupils had very strong attachments to their dormitories and endeavoured through hard work in the workshops or class-rooms, in the field of sports, or general behaviour at school to up-hold the glory of their dormitories. The social control functions of these houses are considerable.

8.4.4 Self-Government and Feed-back

The prefects appeared to be the most important link between the pupils and the staff. But the flow of communication seemed in the main to have been one-way; flowing downwards (from the staff, via the prefects to

the pupils). For this system of self-government among pupils to be of maximum benefit to the pupils, the staff, and the schools as a whole, I feel that a mechanism should be built into it whereby the downward and upward flows of communication receive due attention and recognition. I shall be returning shortly to this point in this section, but meanwhile, let us hear what Mugo Gatheru has to say on this theme in his novel, Child of Two Worlds (Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., Ibadan, 1970, p. 86):

One of the major criticisms against the chiefs by the Kenya African Union was that they were instruments of oppression in that they only received orders from their superiors and did not take trouble to interpret the African demands to the Government. In the African understanding or sense of the word 'chief,' it meant a leader of his people. A genuine leader who was also a source of suggestions towards progress and inspiration. He was not a 'carrier of orders' given to him by somebody else.

x x x x x x x

I will not advocate yet the system in which both the staff and the pupils sit together formally in the discussion of the latter's problems, for the society, in my opinion, has not reached that stage where it could be readily receptive to such a radical idea.

Even in Sweden, one of the countries in the world with the most democratic correctional institutions, the representation of the pupils at the Personalkonferensen (PK), i.e. Staff Meetings, and Behandlingskollegiet (BK), i.e. Treatment Collegium has been viewed with mingled feelings by the pupils. Bondeson (1974, pp. 399 - 400) showed that the pupils' representatives at the Staff Meetings appreciated their presence and contrasted the present situation with the past where the staff talked about them without their having any idea of what was said about themselves.

However, the pupils' appearance before or at the powerful Treatment Collegium was not equally rewarding to the pupils. They felt powerless, and saw such meetings as frustrating and threatening.

The quality and duration of the pupil's participation at the Treatment

Collegium were further ventilated by a psychologist who said that the pupil was not to be present all the time. He was only allowed to come in during the closing stages of the meeting after the corporate body had already taken its decision on his fate. I personally see this "rubber-stamp" approach as pseudo-democracy, and is not worthy of being recommended

x x x x x x

The system of "Visiting Justices," (see Tanner, 1970, p. 258), practised at an East African prison was getting nearer what I had in mind, but it is to be ruled out because it protected the prison officers more than it did the inmates contrary to the original intention behind its introduction:

The Visiting Justice was legally empowered to hear any complaints, to enquire especially into the condition of prisoners under punishment to call the attention of the officer in charge to any irregularity in the administration of the prison or fault in the conduct of any prison officer and to record any suggestions or remarks which he may have had to make.

Tanner recorded that another factor which worked against the efficiency of the system was the fact that the Visiting Justice was appointed by the Prison Department at whom the criticisms might be directed and his appointment could be withdrawn.

x x x x x x

At the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, the pupils had a few real and pressing problems which the prefectship or any other system in existence at the schools was unable to cope with. Some of these burning questions I had already discussed; others will be dealt with in the next chapter. These complaints included:

1. Collective punishment: Its occurrence was peculiar to one school, but the pupils greatly resented it.
 2. Isolation: This was badly felt by the pupils.
 3. Ration reduction: It featured mostly at one of the schools.
- The pupils hated this form of punishment.

4. Night-soil work: There was a bitter reaction by the pupils towards this type of menial work.
5. Verbal vilification of the pupils' significant others: The pupils regarded this form of negative sanction as being distasteful.

What I am advocating here is the introduction of some traditional elements into the self-government system. The traditional rulers usually had councillors, advisers, lieutenants, or other administrative assistants. Citizens were known to have put some of their cases and requests through these subordinates to the superordinate.

A similar system could be established by the Headquarters (the Social Welfare Ministries) at the schools where the office-holder is a sort of go-between (middleman) between the pupils and the staff. The Swedish word 'ombudsman,' which is almost becoming an international concept could be used to designate his office, i.e. 'eleombudsman' (pupils' "solicitor" or pupils' adviser). Or he might simply be called a 'Liaison Officer.'

Whatever his title, it is important that he gains the confidence of the pupils. The government should not just have him there as a figure-head or a decorative appointee. He should not act falsely, by pretending to make things happen even though he is not actually exerting himself enough. Instead, he should really make things happen. He should discuss legitimate demands by and complaints of the pupils with the principal, and if they are such that the principal cannot handle them, then a unilateral or bilateral representation (depending on the definition and delineation of his duties) should be made to the headquarters.

It is, however, important that the role of the liaison officer should be clear from the beginning. The pupils should regard this officer as a friend more on their side than on the government's side, but they (the pupils) should be reminded that there are limits to his powers and they should not expect him to work miracles always.

The children, I believe, will appreciate such a system, where an officer not only listens to, and understands them, but has the "power," sometimes, somehow, to effect certain changes which result in the easing of institutional hardships.

8.5 The Deterrent Influence of Punishment

Some criminological literature has taken up this question of the deterrent effect of punishment. Many writers argue that it does not seem as if punishment deters. However, most of these arguments stem from the moral consideration of certain types of punishment, the most outstanding, being capital punishment.

Chambliss in his article, "The Deterrent Influence of Punishment," in Crime and Delinquency, 12 (1): 70 - 75, 1966, has challenged the views of those social scientists who conclude that other types of punishment are not deterrent just because capital punishment has been regarded as being non-deterrent. He argued that murder is, in many ways, a unique kind of offence often involving very strong emotions, and that the conclusion that the death penalty is ineffective as a deterrent to murder is not to be generalised to cover all kinds of criminal behaviour. He showed clearly in his study of the policies and practices pertaining to the violation of parking regulations on a midwestern university campus in the United States of America that:

.....the change in regulations (and the corresponding increase in the certainty and severity of punishment) greatly reduced the number of transgressions and the number of transgressors and served as an effective deterrent (p. 73).

x x x x x x x

The deterrent influence of punishment is a tricky and difficult problem to handle, for a multiple of factors have got to be taken into consideration before an acceptable and valid conclusion could be arrived at.

However, the answer to a question which I used to test the differential group perception of the deterrent effect of punishment, indicated that for the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils, the most serious punishment did not seem to be the most deterrent as far as the repetition of the "out-of-bounds" offence was concerned. This regulation prohibits pupils from being at certain places within the school compound and its immediate surrounding at all times or during certain periods of the day or night.

The question asked the staff and pupils to rank five types of punishment according to their suitability as deterrent measures (phrased in the questionnaires as measures to prevent doing same offence again in future) against pupils breaking in future the "out-of-bounds" regulation at the schools. Figure 8.2 gives a graphic representation of the staff's and pupils' answers.

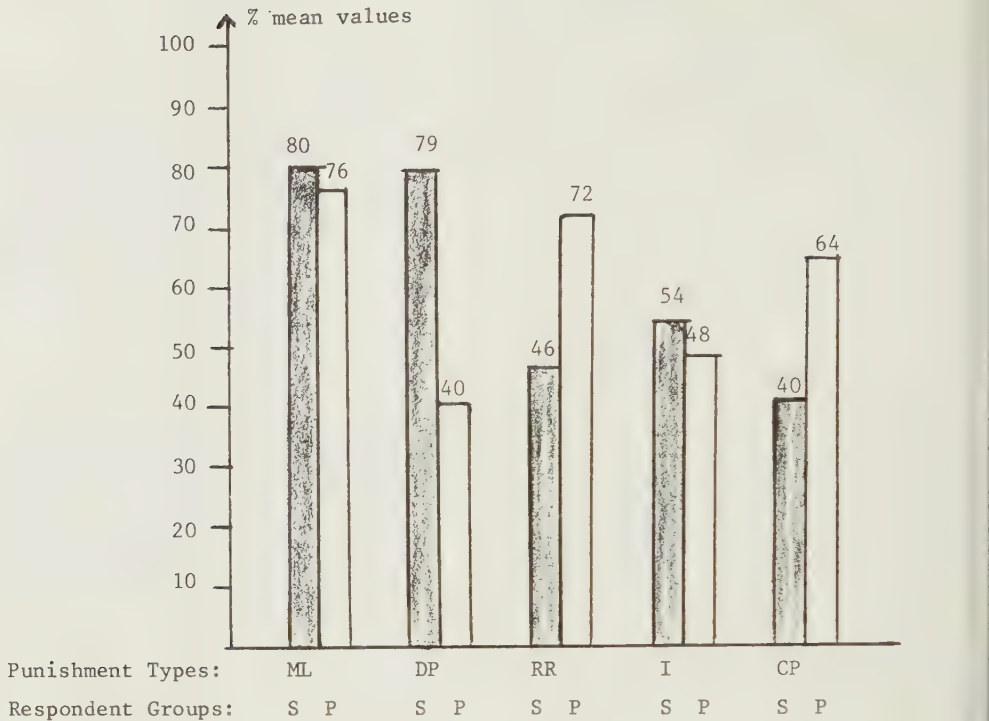


Figure 8.2 The Deterrent Influence of Some Types of Punishments as Differentially Perceived by Staff and Pupils of Schools R2 and F

Punishment Types: ML = Manual Labour; DP = Deprivation of Privileges;
 RR = Ration Reduction; I = Isolation;
 CP = Corporal Punishment.

Respondent Groups: S = Staff; P = Pupils.

From figure 8.2 above, it could be seen that there was a great difference in the perceptions of the pupils and the staff as to the deterrent influence of various types of punishment. There was an agreement, however, by both groups on the question of manual labour being the most deterrent. Each group ranked this type of negative sanction as number 1. Deprivation of privileges was ranked as number 2 by staff, but 5 by pupils; ration reduction, 4 by staff, but 2 by pupils; isolation, 3 by staff, but 4 by pupils; and corporal punishment, 5 by staff, but 3 by pupils.

It appeared that the more severe or abhorrent a punishment was, the less deterrent it was seen to be by the pupils. For instance, deprivation of privileges and isolation which the pupils greatly loathed, were ranked 5 and 4 respectively by them.

How could we account for this discrepancy in the perspectives of both groups? One could speculate that the bitterness felt about the severe types of punishment might create defiance in the pupils. This might lead to an erosion of the deterrent influence of the punishments as the pupils would take it as a challenge to their rep and might commit similar offences in the future in order to avoid giving the impression of being cowards and weaklings.

Alternatively, a weighing process might have taken place and the pupils might have felt that most of the punishments were too severe for the "out-of bounds" offence. They would then have felt "unjustly" punished and this feeling of injustice might arouse anger in them. The deterrent effects of the punishments might then be neutralised because the pupils might commit new offences of a similar nature as a protest against the unfair treatment by the staff.

On the other hand, manual labour might have had the high deterrent effect because the pupils might have believed that the punishment suited the offence. Secondly, it might have been due to the fact that manual labour was a routine work done by all the pupils. Since it was a part of the institutional routine, the pupils might not have felt very resentful when it (manual labour) was awarded them as a punishment.

x x x x x x x

The discussion above clearly points to the incompleteness of the measuring instrument. The measuring instrument should have contained two dimensions, instead of one. First, the respondents should have been asked to rank the types of punishment in order of severity, and there-after, to rank them in the order of their deterrent capabilities.

8.6 Summary

The Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria applied a type of triple compliance structure, i.e. a mixture of the coercive, utilitarian, and normative powers in the control of the pupils.

The Swedish schools made more use of the non-physical types of punishment than the Nigerian schools. In Nigeria, physical punishment was used more often than the non-physical ones. However, the Nigerian pupils did not react very negatively to the physical punishment awarded them, probably because its use did not differ significantly from the practice in the dominant society and at the ordinary schools. There were many non-physical types of punishment which the pupils had extreme aversion for, and believed these to be worse than corporal punishment.

The Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils believed that the staff were very fair to and very interested in them. They also appreciated the kindness of the staff, their impartiality, and the consistency in their actions. They saw the staff mostly as parental figures, and regarded them as people with authority and not as authoritarian personalities. They were therefore not very bitter when punished, as long as the punishment was not too heavy and unjustly awarded.

The informal pupils' organisations were very effective as social control organs at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools; but it was suggested that for the systems to be of maximum benefit to the pupils, the staff, and the schools, that some traditional elements should be incorporated into them.

Chapter 9 NEGATIVE INSTITUTIONAL INFLUENCES

The positive institutional effects have been touched; first in chapter 6, the most outstanding effect being the technical skills acquired by most of the Nigerian Vocational School pupils. Secondly, in those parts of chapter 7 where the relationships between the pupils and the staff were examined. Thirdly, in section 8.2 which examined the attitudes of the pupils to the staff. And lastly, in section 8.4 where pupils' mode of institutional adaptations and their perspectives to life at the institutions were briefly discussed. It should, however, be observed that apart from the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils who were positive to the pupils, the staff, and the schools; that neither the Remand Home pupils nor those from the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools gave positive answers on all the three dimensions.

In this chapter, I will be asserting that the institutions have to a large extent failed to reflect the culture of the dominant society because of some disturbing sub-cultural practices perpetrated in them. Two of the negative effects which will be treated in detail are stigmatisation and homosexuality. The reasons for treating these negative institutional effects fully are given in sections 9.1.1 and 9.1.2. In section 9.3, we shall try to resolve the apparent contradiction between the over-all negative institutional effects and the pupils' answers to a direct "help-hurt" question that was used as one of the questions in measuring the influence of the institutions on the pupils.

9.1 Negative Institutional Effects

A great many writers have treated this theme, and it will be an herculean task going through all of them. However, most of them agree that the negative influences from the institutions, one way

or the other, affect the inmates to a certain degree. Bondeson (1974, p. 542) having performed numerous and elaborate multivariate analyses observed the criminalising influences in all types of correctional institutions, and concluded thus:

It shows throughout that prisonisation takes place, no matter the type of sentence, sex or other background variables. Whether one belongs to the younger or the older inmate group in an institution, is born in the city or country-side, has lower or higher school education, is institutionalised for property offence or other types of crimes, is admitted at the youth welfare schools, youth prisons, or prisons; it is seen that one undergoes a type of criminalisation at a correctional institution.

9.1.1 Stigmatisation

Let us start the discussion of the negative influences by taking up stigmatisation first since it is the negative process which might follow the pupils outside the institutional walls, and while many of the others might have been shed off on leaving the institutions or diminished in intensity, stigmatisation might increase both in intensity and duration.

According to Goffman (1970, p. 11), the Greeks originated the term stigma to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor --- a blemished person, ritually polluted, to be avoided, especially in public places. He continued, by observing that:

Today the term is widely used in something like the original literal sense, but is applied more to the disgrace itself than to the bodily evidence of it.

Becker (1963, p. 9) in his discussion of what constituted deviance showed how the 'insiders' stigmatised the outsiders by labelling them.

.....social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an "offender." The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

Stigma might be broadly divided into two: objective and subjective. The objective stigmatisation could be defined as the one actually experienced or suffered and the subjective as the imagined or expected label which the deviant felt the society had placed on him. The question I used in testing the degree of stigmatisation suffered by pupils of Schools 2 and 4 revisited tapped mostly the subjective form of stigmatisation. For the measurement of objective stigmatisation, one has to change the population, by turning to the ex-pupils of the Youth Welfare Schools.

x x x x x x x

Goffman (1970, p. 14) mentioned three grossly different types of stigma:

1. There are abominations of the body --- the various physical deformities.
2. There are the blemishes of individual character.
3. There are the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion, these being stigma that can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family.

The stigma we shall be referring to in this section, is therefore, that which is neither connected with the pupil's physical deformities nor frailties as an individual, but with his membership in a minority group; the stigma being mostly subjectively perceived by him or others.

Below, I will attempt to show the extent of the stigmatisation of the pupils by employing a three-dimensional perceptual comparison. The first dimension shows how the respondent perceives a child who has

been to an institution (table 9.1). The second, how the respondent thinks that a child who has been institutionalised looks on himself (table 9.2). And the third, how the respondent feels the general public sees a child who has been institutionalised (table 9.3).

Table 9.1 How the pupil looks on himself now that he has been to an Approved School and how different social agents look on a pupil who has been to an Approved School

Respondent groups	Pupils R2+R4	Staff R2+R4	Extension Officers 1)	General public
N	38	21	9	12
Positive perceptions	97	95	100	58
Negative perceptions	3	5	0	25
No answers	0	0	0	17
	100	100	100	100

Table 9.1 shows that the pupils had very positive perceptions of themselves. The staff and the Extension Officers also perceived the pupils very positively. But the general public, i.e. the society perceived the pupils more negatively than the other respondent groups. However, it should be borne in mind that the general public sample was a small one and not representative of the population. My attempt at interviewing some members of the society could be regarded simply as a way of feeling the society's pulse; so the results to be presented in this chapter having some bearing on the general public should be taken tentatively.

1) The Extension Officers (see also section 3.1) are the After-Care Officers attached to the local offices of the Social Welfare Ministries. In one state, however, they are concentrated at the Headquarters.

Most of the pupils saw themselves as any other children in the dominant society and felt that they have been resocialised at the Youth Welfare Schools as typified by the following extracts:

--- Well now, I have known internal in my body that I have grown and become a man, so I have changed. All that I have done have gone to past tense. So I want to take a new one home. So I want to become a good person in my life, not to make any notorious habit; things that will pertain to police or any criminal cases at all which will spoil my family or my name.

--- Because when I was at home I get space (opportunity) to go out and from that place I used to meet rascal boys and they teach me how to steal, how to run away. But in this place I am behaving well and I am changing because before when I was outside I used to fight but now I am not fighting and I am not stealing again.

x x x x x x

The staff mostly saw the children as lucky ones who had been given certain opportunities at the schools which they would otherwise not have been able to get at home.

--- All the things they are receiving at the school, they know how much the parents will pay for them. Because those whose parents pay money do not pay more than six Nigerian naira (about 42 Swedish Crowns) per month. Some parents do not pay anything at all. But they know how much they pay at the Trade Centre or any Technical Institute (Trade Schools in the community).

--- A lucky character (person), i.e. a lucky young man in the community because I feel I am convinced that he has been privileged to have many opportunities which very many other boys outside couldn't have.

x x x x x x

Some citizens were biased in their views about the pupils whom they stereotyped. The pupils were regarded as children from "crime schools" and looked upon with suspicion.

--- People who are sent to these Approved Schools are those who have been behaving in ways contrary to what the bona

fide young somebody would do. I have a biased feeling about them, honestly. They still possess some of those qualities which took them into the Approved Schools. No matter whatever the training given to them there, when they come out they're all right, but at times they tend to behave just you know in confirmation of what really took them there. You really find it out in them when they behave at times.

--- To my own opinion, I could be able to see that actually though the government is trying to see that the people are reformed. And somebody who has gone to a Remand Home likewise a prison, because prison is a place of reformation, is expected to be somebody who is being reformed to change from his ways that led him to that remand place. But I could be able to see that in many cases those pupils who come out from a Remand Home are worse than they were before they went in. But I will assure you that there are some people who go to Reform Home to learn more tricks of getting some crimes being committed while you see they will not be found out.

Table 9.2 How respondent feels a child who has been to an Approved School looks on himself

Respondent groups	Staff R2+R4	Extension officers	General public
N	21	9	12
Positive perceptions	76	78	58
Negative perceptions	24	22	42
	100	100	100

While 97 percent of the pupils perceived themselves positively, (see table 9.1), 76 percent of the staff members, 78 of the After-Care Officers, and only 58 of the general public felt that the pupils would have positive perception of themselves. The interesting points here are that the general public that were most negative in their perception of the pupils also felt to a greater extent than the other respondent groups that the pupils would perceive themselves negatively. Furthermore, even though there was a fair agreement between the staff and the After-Care Officers in the ways they felt the pupils perceived themselves, all the respondent groups were less optimistic in their belief than the pupils.

The different groups gave fairly different reasons to support their answers. Some staff members believed that some of the pupils would regard themselves as lucky children and have the feeling of confidence. Some speak of pride in the boys and a feeling of bravado which would make the conquest of difficulties easy by the boys; while others believed that the pupils would still regard themselves as problem children.

--- They regard themselves as those who are lucky to be committed to an Approved School because they know we have done a lot to make them change from their past life.

--- Takes a pride; he feels superior to other boys outside. He will feel that after all he has been to the highest institution for difficult children. He could face anything in life and damn the consequence. He is ready for the worst. What next! He has been to the Approved School. What again!

--- Most of these boys when they go out hate to reveal that they come from the Approved School because they know themselves to be bad and as delinquent boys they are aware that delinquent boys are taken to the Approved Schools.

x x x x x x

Some of the After-Care Officers felt that the pupils would regard themselves as having been resocialised and develop a feeling of self-confidence; while others felt that they might have a feeling of inferiority complex and not that of self-confidence.

--- Well, I think they have been fitting well into the society after their return because the sort of treatment being given to them doesn't actually make them to regard themselves as perhaps ostracised from the society. They are still within the society. They go on holidays; they stay with their parents; mix up with the society; they go back to the schools, do their studies and then come home. By the time they come home they are not treated as prisoners but members of the community. In fact, the law doesn't take cognizance of their (records?); perhaps it is the corrective detention or treatment which they have received there.

--- He is very confident of himself in that he can do something tangible. He is more or less on an equal footing with somebody who has gone to the Secondary School, most especially the Trade School.

--- Well, he looks on himself as having been trained and fit for a work. He feels he is fit to take up a place in the society.

--- Because he might have passed so many stages in the Remand Home before being taken to an Approved School. This feeling of inferiority complex arises when the boy plays in the midst of other boys. If his behaviour departs from the ways of the other boys, the other boys will tell him off.

x x x x x x x

Feeling of rejection and shame were two of the major reasons given by members of the general public which made them believe that the pupils would negatively perceive themselves.

--- Well, from what I have seen when they come out they look, you know as if they have been rejected somehow by the public and the people. They feel they are not actually a part and piece of the public because they believe the public knows about these Approved Schools and we all know very well what somebody who goes to an Approved School goes there for. Not for fun!

--- Normally, such a boy will be ashamed in the public because he will be still having a certain feeling that maybe people who knew him at the earlier stage have a different feeling that he may be behaving in the usual way. That is anywhere he goes, he may be seeing Paul who was his friend before, he looks at that person that maybe these people are thinking that I am still misbehaving.

Table 9.3 How respondents feel the general public looks on a child who has been to an Approved School

Respondent groups	Pupils R2+R4	Staff R2+R4	Extension Officers	General public
N	38	21	9	12
Positive perceptions	39	29	56	17
Negative perceptions	61	62	44	66
No answers	0	10	0	17
	100	101	100	100

Table 9.3 above shows that as many as 62 percent of all the respondents (excluding the Extension Officers) felt that the society would stigmatise the pupils from the Approved Schools, while only 44 percent of the Extension Officers felt that the pupils would be labelled by the society. Of all the respondent groups, the After-Care Officers are those who are in closest contact with the ex-pupils of the Youth Welfare Schools. As a result of this contact, one might have thought that they (the After-Care Officers/Extension Officers) would have been in a position to access more accurately the societal attitude, basing their belief on certain concrete pieces of information and evidence gathered from both the ex-pupils and the general public during the course of their work. But this did not seem to be the case, for the pupils and the staff predicted the general public's perspective more accurately than did the Extension Officers (After-Care Officers).

Let us now listen to some scattered voices of the respondents and get some idea about why they felt that the society would or would not stigmatise the pupils.

x x x x x x x

The pupils felt that the society might regard children who have been to the Approved Schools with suspicion and distrust; that they would still be seen as problem children and the society would look down on such pupils, reject, and avoid them.

--- If they know that a boy has been to the Welfare (Approved School), they will be running from (avoiding) the person.

--- They will say 'Welfare boy.' They think you have gone to prison.

--- They will look on the person with 'bad' eyes (suspicion and distrust). If they put money somewhere and the money loss, they will think that the boy claimed the money.

--- They will look the boy with 'bad eyes.' And they will ask their 'pickin' (children) not to play with the boy.

--- They look on the boy with evil eye. If they remember all the bad things, like stealing, telling lies that the boy has done, they will call the boy and ask him where he has been. The boy will not tell them he has gone to the 'Welfare' (Approved School), but to College.

Some of the staff members felt that the general public might regard the pupils as reformed or resocialised children, while others felt that the society would regard the pupils as persons with stained names, young prisoners, and difficult children.

--- Formerly, they thought that to be an Approved School leaver is as I will call it a stain but now they realise that the work the government is doing is just a reformatory school and not a prison yard because we have so many of these our boys working in the Ministries and people see now that they do better. The public lacked information before and at that time the people outside thought that the Approved Schools are small prison yards.

--- Well, we are living in a community where people look down on boys who have been to an Approved School. With people in the community once they know that a boy is from an Approved School; they feel he is not to be welcomed into the fold and one should be very careful to move with him.

--- They really feel that boys who have come to an Approved School are difficult ones, and hardly can they be taken serious as having been perfectly reformed. They (the public/society) have doubtful confidence in them.

--- To the public, they look on boys who have been to Approved Schools as ex-prisoners. If only when they (the pupils) come there it is our duty to explain to them that they are no prisoners but that they are there for corrective training. But to the eyes of the public they thought they were imprisoned; that they could not make any good record in life.

x x x x x x x

The Extension Officers felt that the pupils from the Approved Schools would be ambivalently perceived; that while some members of the general public would see them as any other children, or as resocialised ones, others would see them as difficult (problem) pupils and eventually look down on them.

--- Well, people know there is normal deviance in children. Most of them are small children. They haven't grown to the age and at least somebody who has been to the prison wouldn't come home on leave. So they think that the boy has gone to school. So they don't term it as approved school within a school. So they think this boy has gone away to a school under punitive measures. That is what the public believes.

--- Well, I think they regard him as a difficult child because many people know him probably before he went to the Approved

School and as soon as he returns from the Approved School, some still look on him as such but I think majority of people believe that he has changed and that he is a changed person. I think this is what happens in most cases and they look forward to see him at his best.

--- This is where the question lies. The opinion of the general public towards this very child, I think is equivalent to what the general public sees a prisoner, a discharged prisoner. They look on him with disdain. Why I say this is that they feel this boy has been a criminal anyway, and they are not very sure whether this Approved School has really reformed him. That sort of thing. This bias is something he cannot break at all because it is very very difficult because before somebody has formed an opinion on you; to let go that opinion is always difficult, anyway.

--- Well, I don't know whether I am to say I am sorry to say or perhaps Not many people really know what an Approved School is in our community as it is. It is perhaps only the elite who know that a child is sent to an Approved School for this or for that, you know. For instance an ordinary parent, when I say an ordinary parent, I mean the one that is not sophisticated. When the child is taken away from him or her and sent to an Approved School it does not really make a difference to him. The idea of the general public apart from the elite who really know what it involves is that the child is being taken to a special school to be trained. A special school in the way that it is a school for reforming difficult children. They think of it in the same way as they think of a reformatory school. That when a child is difficult and when the parents are no longer able to cope with their difficult child, then the child is sent to an Approved School.

x x x x x x x

Most respondents from the general public felt that the society would look on such children with fear and suspicion; that they would be very sceptical about the reformed status of the pupils and would therefore always regard them as problem children.

--- Generally, very many people have a little bit of fear when dealing with such people because they have been noted. You know you can always heal the wound but the scar is always there. So very many people who have not been all that lettered (educated) still have the impression that since they have been once bad that that quality is still in them even though they have been refined.

--- Generally they feel once a child has been to the Remand Home or Approved School, there is every tendency for him to

remain bad because they feel his going to the Remand Home or Approved School was for one bad reason or the other. So they look on them like that.

--- People in general look to people that have been to a Remand Home to be bad people because a Remand Home is a place where everybody has known that if somebody in fact did not commit one offence or the other he couldn't have been taken to that place. So anybody whom they see that has been to a Remand Home will be taken to be a bad man. Being bad is somebody who is a crime committer. A crime committer because a person is innocent until he is found guilty. Anybody who is in outside world who has been committing serious offences but is not being caught is taken to be an innocent somebody but that person whose offence has been known to the public is regarded to be a crime committer.

x x x x x x x

Two variables, namely interaction and education, seemed to have been important in influencing the respondent's perception of the pupils. It is, however, not safe to generalise because of the smallness and unrepresentativeness of the sample, but it appeared that the educated citizens tended to label the pupils less than the uneducated ones; and the more interaction there was between the pupils and individuals or groups of individuals, the less the pupils were stigmatised. For instance, the general public respondents were asked to indicate whether they would or would not take on a boy or a girl who had been to an Approved School as their house-boy or house-girl or an apprentice in their trade. Fifty percent of them said they would absolutely employ such a pupil; twenty-five percent said they would only employ such a pupil on condition that they would always be on their guard, or that they were fully satisfied that the pupil had been really reformed, or that the pupil was not institutionalised for a serious offence; while the remaining 25 percent asserted that they would under no circumstances employ such a pupil, their fear being that he or she might regress at any time.

The crucial part that interaction played in shaping the attitude of the respondents was observed when it was noticed that 83 percent

of the respondents who said that they would employ the pupil unconditionally were those who had the highest interaction with ex-pupils of the Approved Schools.

The more educated members of the general public seemed to have possessed more accurate information about the pupils than the less educated ones; and this might, to some extent, have contributed to their development of positive attitude towards the pupils.

9.1.2 Homosexuality

The existence of homosexuality at the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria was one of the serendipity patterns that I observed in the first phase of the field-work. Serendipity means the observation by chance of findings which were not sought for, see (Merton, 1967, pp. 12, 96, 103, and 104). From my personal experience of having lived as a boarding student in two boarding colleges and as an assistant house-master in two others, homosexual practices were almost non-existent at such establishments. So, I was somehow amazed, when some boys answering the question about some of the things they disliked at the schools, gave homosexual practices as one of them.

During the fourth phase of the field-work, I explored further the occurrence of homosexuality at Schools R2 and R4, by putting numerous questions to both staff and pupils. It is not my intention to go into the arguments for and against homosexuality in this section. I will not even attempt to trace how homosexuality found its way into the Nigerian society. The fact is that the little amount of homosexual practices thought to exist in the society (for nobody actually knows the extent) is still being negatively perceived. The occurrence of homosexuality at correctional institutions in the Western world might not be viewed with much alarm, but in

the Nigerian society where people adopt the repressive attitude towards homosexuality, its existence at the schools might cause some concern. I will, therefore, in this section, in fairly great detail, try to ascertain how wide-spread homosexuality was at the schools, outline its structure and patterns, and establish some of its functions and dysfunctions for the pupils and the schools.

In many contemporary Western countries, homosexuality between consenting adults is no longer regarded as a crime. But this is not so in all societies. In Nigeria, as in most African societies, it is still a crime and the societal attitude towards it is one of intolerance and abhorrence. For instance, Elias (1956, p. 183) told us that there was a strict rule among the Shilluk of the Upper Nile that a king's daughter might neither marry nor even have any sexual relation with a man. Having carnal knowledge of daughters of reigning or past reths (i.e. kings) was therefore entirely prohibited, and an infringement of that rule was a crime against the reth himself and all he stood for. Because of that unmarriageability of a king's daughter, the Shilluk invoked the fiction that she was in that sense a male person and that any sexual intercourse with her by (another) male person must be regarded as if it were one of those unnatural offences amounting to sexual perversity, upon which the whole community frowned.

In most African societies, past and present, severe penalties were and are awarded persons found guilty of "unnatural offences." For example, chapter 19, section 152, subsections 1 to 3, of the Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria, 1959, Vol. I, p. 544, stipulates that any person who has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature; or has carnal knowledge of an animal; or permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature; is guilty of a felony, and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years.

One of the questions asked the respondents to say whether homosexuality was practised or not at the schools. All the pupils and staff of Schools R2 and R4 answered that homosexuality was practised at the schools. Thirty-seven percent of the pupils and 76 percent of the staff thought that between 2 and 20% of the boys engaged in the practice; 42 percent of the pupils and 14 percent of the staff felt that 21 - 35% of the boys committed the act; while 19 percent of the pupils and 10 percent of the staff believed that more than 35% of the boys perpetrated the act. Five percent of the pupils gave no answers. It might be added here that it is not usually easy to fix accurately the percentage of the occurrence of such a phenomenon and the percentages above should therefore be regarded as rough and probably exaggerated guesses.

It was not easy to determine with any degree of accuracy the proportion of the aggressive to the passive homosexuals. The aggressive homosexuals are those Sykes (1970, pp. 95 - 99) terms wolves and the passive ones punks and fags. He records that the wolves play an active, aggressive role, i.e. a "masculine" role. The fag is recognisable by his exaggerated, feminine mannerisms. The punk, on the other hand, submits to the importunities of the more active, aggressive homosexuals without displaying the outward signs of femininity in other aspects of his behaviour. Both the punks and fags have lost their "maleness" in the prison environment by submitting to the aggressive, active wolves, but the inmates of correctional institutions tend to look down on the punks whom they see as being more opportunistic than the fags in the pursuit of their sexual relationships.

x x x x x x x

Homosexual practices at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools for boys could be roughly divided into six categories:

1. Homosexuality between consenting partners.
2. "Black-mailing" homosexuality: Pupils found stealing are forced into the act.

3. "Utilitarian" homosexuality: This is the kind of homosexuality which takes place following the offer of money, food, or other types of gifts and remunerations.
4. "Coercive" homosexuality: Bullies practise it on younger or weaker pupils.
5. "Hierarchal" homosexuality: Pupils who have stayed longer and those in higher educational classes practise it on those who have been at the schools for a shorter time and/or have lower educational achievements.
6. "Pseudo" homosexuality: This takes one of two forms. First, there are those boys who want to gain prestige before their comrades and often boasted of their homosexual prowess, but in actual fact knew nothing about homosexuality. Secondly, it appeared that some staff members were so obsessed with it that they saw homosexuality where none existed. For instance, respondent NP 216 and two other pupils were given corporal punishment following their alleged engagement in homosexual acts. But their actions, according to them (and I had no cause to doubt them) were mere normal innocent childish plays.

Enforced celibacy was seen by both the pupils and the staff as the major possible cause of homosexuality; 42 percent of the former and 67 percent of the latter gave this type of answer. This is not surprising if we remember that some of the boys are in their "active" period. Eldridge Cleaver, (Soul on Ice, Panther Books, London, 1970, p. 20) tells us how depriving the lack of heterosexual relationships could be at the prison:

This may appear ridiculous to some people. But it was very real to me and as urgent as the need to breathe, because I was in my bull stage and lack of access to females was absolutely a form of torture. I suffered.

Gresham Sykes' famous treatment of the pains of imprisonment, (Sykes, 1970, pp. 63 - 83) took up the deprivation of heterosexual relationships as one of the pains. He noted the anxieties in the inmates concerning their masculinity, the intolerable pressure of mounting physical desire, and the frustrating experience arising from the lack of heterosexual intercourse as the prisoner is figuratively castrated by his involuntary celibacy. A possible mode of adaptation of the heterosexually deprived inmates was the engagement in homosexual relationships.

It appeared that homosexuality²⁾ from the foregoing discussion might have aided the boys bear the "monastic" life at the institutions. It might also have helped reassure them of their masculinity. For the "pseudo" homosexuals, their fictitious homosexual practices might have earned them some status among some groups of pupils. Some pupils were able to procure some scarce goods by holding out homosexual attractions to those who had the goods for distribution. Certain dependency needs might have been satisfied through the homosexual associations. The coercive homosexuals might have used their sexual relationships as a way of working out their violent inclinations. Some of the boys might have gained extra kicks through participation in a sort of "forbidden" activity.

But there might have been some dysfunctions of this activity as well. A cardinal disadvantage of homosexuality for the pupils might be the risk of further stigmatisation by the dominant society if a pupil who practised the act at the institutions happened to continue with it after his release from the training establishments. Furthermore, certain ill-feelings, fights, and jealousy between or among some boys might have emanated from a conflict of interest as one tried to monopolise the attention of a popular partner to the

2) See Thompson (1966, p. 163), and Devereux & Moos (1966, p. 165) for a more detailed discussion of the functions of homosexuality for the homosexuals.

disadvantage or discomfort of other rivals. This might be disadvantageous to the staff because it could make disciplinary work more difficult.

The schools were unable to provide enough inhibitory measures to combat homosexual occurrences. In this regard, the schools might be said to be defective, for they have failed to mirror the culture of the larger society.

x x x x x x x

The staff, however, were aware of the prevailing societal attitude towards homosexuality, and adopted the following measures among others in combating homosexuality at the schools:

- (a) They spoke to the boys, either the offending groups or the whole group on sex education.
- (b) The personnel appealed to their sense of moral virtue and decency, quoting from the bible and the law books.
- (c) A chronic (persistent) homosexual was socially ostracised, e.g. he was sent under lock-up (isolation).
- (d) The homosexual was fatigued, i.e. given some physical work (manual labour) to do.
- (e) He was given some beating (corporal punishment)
- (f) Lights were left on throughout the night in the dormitories to discourage boys making some "nocturnal adventures" (engaging in homosexuality).

x x x x x x x

When the staff and pupils were asked to recommend measures which might help in the reduction of homosexual practices, three measures were high on the staff's recommendation list. These were:

- (a) more frequent, but short outings (open-days or day-leaves), 27%
- (b) separating offenders from others, 20%; and
- (c) talking to the offender personally, 17%.

The pupils' recommendation list had a different scale of preference. First on their list was a punitive measure. The repeated offenders were to be sent to the Remand Home, the Intermediate or Senior Approved Schools, or the prison. This measure received 26% of the "recommendations." Secondly, the boys suggested that the offender should be talked to personally or through his friend, 21%; and third was the recommendation that more frequent, but short outings (open-days or day-leaves) should be granted boys.

The pupils recommended more severe measures than the staff. Could this be said to be a fair indication of how serious they viewed the homosexual practices? It is not unusual for the citizens to call for tougher measures than the legislators to combat a societal nuisance. Take for example, the bomb explosion at the Tower of London and the recent terrorist bombing at Birmingham, which prompted the British citizens to clamour for a reintroduction of capital punishment. This sort of answer indicates that there might be a great deal of discrepancy between the type of measures or punishments which an individual will think is deterrent to him and that which is deterrent to others. See for instance, section 8.5 where the pupils felt that manual labour which was regarded as the least difficult and abhorrent of the various types of punishments discussed in that section, had the most deterrent influence on them (the pupils).

x x x x x x x

Below, follow a few randomly chosen, but interesting extracts of the respondents' own recommendations of the measures to adopt to help reduce the incidence of homosexuality at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools.

Some of the staff members felt that better age differentiation was the answer:

--- If I were, (i.e. the Principal), this thing should start from the Remand Home because some of the boys who are sent here are adults. It is because they go to the courts and swear (an

affidavit); there is no other thing that can be done about it.³⁾ If I were, I would ask them to bring their birth certificates. It is one of the things (the advanced age). If they are young ones, if they are below 18, these young ones can still endure things (the physical pressure) more than these grown-ups.

Other staff members believed that draining the boys' surplus energy would be the cure.

--- Vigorous exercise after the day's work. The children are restless so that is what they want. Give them something to exhaust their energy.

--- It is our feeling that if a boy has outlet to his energy enough during the day, works hard, has good exercise and has enough to do, he sleeps during the night because it is more practised during the night than during the day. So we have a lot of pass-time in which boys can engage their time instead of thinking of (messing?) around.

--- The school is trying one way or the other to erase this homosexuality by giving the boys extra duties to perform, especially on the farm to make them tired and even not to remember to do such a practice.

For a staff member, "dormitory curfew" seemed to be his solution.

--- There should be a law --- there should be no inter-dormitory visit and the law enforcement agencies should see that the laws are obeyed. This (prohibition) should start every day at 8 p.m. and end at dawn. Because this thing is mostly practised at night. They haven't got time in the day-time, but at night.

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- 3) In Nigeria, in the past, most births and deaths were not registered. But certain official procedures demand the production of proof showing the year of birth. Those who lacked the birth certificates would go to the court to swear an affidavit that they were of certain ages. But it happens that some people sometimes declare their ages falsely, either by subtracting from or adding to their "real ages," to suit their convenience.

Another staff member felt that having the lights on continuously at night, a measure already in operation could be effective and therefore recommended its continuation.

--- One of the measures which we are taking at the moment is that the boys should have the lights on in their dormitories when sleeping at nights; so that a boy who has a twisted mind and then with the lights on will not find it easy to hop on to another boy's bed.

x x x x x x x

More short, but frequent outings (open-days) was the suggestion given by some pupils.

--- To allow us to be going out say either on Saturday or Sunday; just for a day. In the morning you can go by 9 before 6 in the evening you are back. Let us say 2 times in one month. When they allow us like that, I think this compound will be better. There will be no homosexuality.

One pupil advised that the younger boys be asked to keep off from stealing, particularly in the bush.

--- In the bush, if they can advise those small children not to go to the bush to steal. You know some of them steal. They used to go and steal coconut, corn. If they go and steal the big men (the bigger boys) will catch them so that because of that they will get you into making all those rubbish with them.

Some recommended the deprivation of privileges.

--- Deprivation of privileges, e.g. not allowing boys take their examinations; preventing them from attending classes: "gating" them.

Different types of isolation seemed to be the cure as seen by some boys.

--- If other boys are going to sleep, to put him (the homosexual) in the toilet with a lock in the night.

--- To build a house down in the bush for them. And ask them to wear these bags (sacks) for garri (local food-stuff).

Others thought the transfer of the homosexuals to either the Remand Homes, other Approved Schools with more rigid discipline, or to the prison on full or reduced diet would serve as deterrent measures.

--- If the person does it once, he should be given punishment. Second time, he should be sent to the Remand Home or "Ikoyi prison" like some months or a year.

--- None of the boys like to go to the Remand Home. If they do such a thing to take some of them to the Remand Home to try to stop the bad habit because they know if they take them to the Remand Home they waste their own time. All of them are afraid of going to the Remand Home because they don't like going there. To take them there for about 6 months or say more.

--- If the school authorities have got power, so that they make a boy a typical example just to send him to the prison yard just for a month and give him half ration; so when the rest boys saw that they will change.

--- If the person is young, send him to Isheri (a Vocational School for boys of intermediate age, i.e. 12 - 15 years). If old, to be sent to prison for 21 years.

x x x x x x

Of all the preventive and treatment measures recommended, it seemed to me that the suggestion that the boys be allowed more frequent, but short outings (open-days) was the most appropriate. This is a regular feature of the ordinary boarding schools and might have helped boys bear the monotony of single-sexed schools. Most of the boys on their outings might not have sexual relationships with girls, but merely being in their midst, teasing them and being teased by them might be satisfying to some of the boys. Making successful or unsuccessful "passes" (advances) at them might help the boys maintain confidence in their masculinity as they noticed that they had not lost the "techniques" of the business. Some of the boys might develop a type of affective relationship with some of the girls in an uncontrolled atmosphere and this might be positively transferred to the schools.

Sykes (1970, p. 72) expresses very briefly and beautifully this important gain from the male-female relationships which is denied the inmates, as follows:

The inmate is shut off from the world of women which by its very polarity gives the male world much of its meaning.

9.1.3 The Mortification Process

It seems a valid assumption that if the institutions are to aid the pupils in their readjustment, then their self-identity should be maintained and the schools should help them have a positive perception of their identity. But the question is whether the schools are helping the pupils in the maintenance of their ego identity, i.e. their self-respect and pride as individuals. Goffman (1961, p. 14) tells us what happens when an inmate enters a total institution.

In the accurate language of some of our oldest total institutions, he begins a series of abasements, degradations, and profanations of self. His self is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified.

The mortification processes⁴⁾, according to Goffman (1961, pp. 14 - 48), include "role dispossession, dispossession of property, personal disfigurement, verbal or gestural profanations, contaminative exposure," among others.

In this section, I will take up three types of mortification processes, viz., verbal vilification of the ego and the ego's significant others; personal disfigurement; and degradational occupations as further proofs that the schools have not succeeded in reflecting the culture of the dominant society in certain aspects.

4) Cf. "The Pains of Imprisonment,"
Sykes (1970, pp. 63 - 83).

9.1.3.1 Verbal Vilification of the Ego and the
Ego's Significant Others

Garfinkel (1955, pp. 420 & 424) remarks that "communicative work directed to transforming an individual's total identity into an identity lower in the group's scheme of social types is called a 'status degradation ceremony,'" and he further observes that "quarrels which seek the humiliation of the opponent through personal invective may achieve degrading on a limited scale."

Reckless (1962, pp. 131 - 132) formulated the classical containment theory which he said consisted of the external and internal containments. According to him, "the two containments act as a defence against deviating from the legal and social norms, as an insulation against pressures and pulls, as a protection against demoralization and seduction." "In the past," he noted, "the clan, the neighbourhood, the village, the caste, the tribe, the sect have acted as supportive external buffers for the individual, in addition to the family."

The external containment is said to be made up of social components, such as, identification with the group, cohesion among members of a group, status achievement, provision of alternative means of satisfaction, etc., while the internal containment is said to consist of "self" components, such as, a favourable image of self; a high level of frustration tolerance; strongly internalized morals and ethics; and well developed ego and super ego.

In contemporary Nigeria, the external containment is becoming weaker and individuals have to rely more on their internal containment to withstand social pressures, pulls, and pushes. But at some of the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, especially at School 5, the staff instead of helping in the restoration of the self-esteem of the pupils, appeared to have defiled the pupils' self-identity.

In answer to a question which asked the pupils to indicate what they thought should be changed at the schools, many of the pupils of School 5 said they would want their school to be renamed; substituting the word "Children" for "Welfare." Further questioning revealed that many of the children were often called "Welfare pupils" by the staff, and it was this frequent use of the word "welfare" which made the pupils have the erroneous belief that their school was known as "Welfare School," and some of them could not believe it at first when the writer told them that the correct name of their school was "Approved School."

Another question asked them to say some of those things they did not like at the establishments. Some of the pupils, especially those at School 5, mentioned the derogatory remarks about their relatives made by members of the staff. This, to me, is a serious complaint because it is contrary to what is practised in the outside society. Outside, such negative references will be nothing but an invitation to a battle of unpleasant words or that of the fists. For instance, the reason for the institutionalisation of respondent NP 060 was that he fought with a boy who abused his father.

Gulliver (1963, p. 217) also tells us the reaction of most Arusha (an East African tribe) young men to certain types of insults:

To refer publicly to the non-Arusha origins (paternal or maternal) of a man is considered a gross insult; and younger men commonly attack an offender with fists and stick on such provocation.

Perham (1937, p. 207) provides another illustration. In discussing the events that led to the "Aba Riots," (which took place in Owerri province in South-Eastern Nigeria), she noted the reaction of a messenger who was carrying out Okugo's (a chief's) instructions when an unpleasant remark was made about his (the messenger's) mother by a woman, called Nwanyeruwa.

Okugo, continuing reluctantly to carry out his orders, sent a messenger to count some of his people. This man entered a compound and told one of the married women, Nwanyeruwa, who was pressing oil, to count her goats and sheep. She replied angrily, 'Was your mother counted?' at which they closed, seizing each other by the throat.

That this man (Okugo's messenger) was forced to break an important social norm showed how serious the provocation was seen to be. Under normal circumstances, in traditional Nigeria, the norms forbade a man fighting women, old people of both sexes, children and young persons of both sexes, lunatics, and those under the influence of alcohol. Fights between young persons of the same age were not much disapproved of by the society. Instead, they were taken as healthy signs of sound development and a training ground for fighting one's ways through life.

9.1.3.2 Personal Disfigurement

Personal disfigurement in this context does not mean signs cut or burnt on the pupils' bodies; rather it is the cutting short of some girls' hair at the Girls' Vocational School which might be worth mentioning here because some of the girls affected and even those not involved, condemned this type of treatment. Those people who are inclined to think that this is a trifle should be reminded that beauty is thought to be the prerogative of women. The amount of money spent by women at cosmetic and beauty-shops in trying to retain, or improve their looks and figures will prove that women will not take kindly to any person or thing that robs them of their beauty. In the Nigerian society, cutting short girls' hair has long gone out of fashion. Plaiting the hair or letting it grow fully are now in vogue. The pain resulting from this type of mortification of the self seemed to be internationally felt. For instance, one of Lambert's girls (Lambert, 1968, p. 352) expressed pointedly this assault on their identity:

We're not allowed to have hair touching our collars --- or its shorn off, and we have to wear it tied up like six year olds. Never any make-up and only once in a blue moon one's own dress and then 'sober.' Nuns look prettier than we do.

9.1.3.3 Degradational Occupations

I want to argue in this section that some schools might have contributed to the pupils taking on a spoiled self-identity through giving them some menial pieces of work to do. The most outstanding one was conservacy work (night-soil work, i.e. the disposal of human refuse) which most boys strongly objected to. We could understand the pupils' disapproval of this type of work when we remember that it is usually done by prisoners, and not even all the prisoners, but certain groups or grades of them. In the dominant society, those who do this type of work have low status. And according to rumours, whose validity I was unable to check, they are highly paid, probably as a compensation for the unpleasantness of the work and loss of social status. These workers camouflage their identity splendidly when they set out on their nocturnal employment.

The question arises: how could the night-soil at some of these schools be disposed of? Other solutions seem feasible. First, let the governments improve the architectural standard of the schools by having water-systems installed in all of them. Or, secondly, let the contract for the disposal of the human refuse be awarded to a contractor in the outside society who in turn will engage people to do the work. Those so engaged might not have such feeling of debasement as the pupils had, because they will be taking on the job voluntarily, and besides, might be well paid for it.

9.1.4 Criminal Socialisation at the Institutions

It has been the opinion of many writers and observers of prison life that inmates of correctional institutions do not necessarily improve following their institutionalisation, but that some of them instead, become more crime-prone during and after their stay at the institutions than they were before. A part of the blame for such worsened state is often attributed to the influence of "bad elements" at the institutions.

In this section, I will briefly deal with contamination by "undesirable" fellow pupils, and argot knowledge. Contaminative exposure could have been dealt with under the mortification processes, but I decided to treat it here since under the mortification processes, I discussed mainly those things the staff did which might have led to the taking on of spoiled self-identity by the children. In this section, it is the negative effects arising from the inter-personal contacts among the pupils which will be discussed. Homosexuality could also have been rightly placed in this heading, but I have given it a separate and detailed treatment for the reasons stated in section 9.1.2.

9.1.4.1 Contaminative Exposure

The frequently quoted remark of a prisoner that the worst thing about prison is that the prisoner is to live among other prisoners seems to be a hard fact. At the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, the putting together of the junior, intermediate, and senior pupils at two of the five Youth Welfare Schools surveyed, and the mixing of the criminal offenders with the non-criminal cases in all the schools and the Remand Homes might be thought to produce some contaminative effects. The pupils can be criminalised through such measure as tutelage in the techniques of crime perpetration, or through imitation as some "innocent" pupils with weak internal containment copy certain criminal activities from other pupils.

The following extracts in the pupils' own words show how they felt about both the real and imagined contaminative exposure at the institutions:

NP 052: Their sins are many. You might be pushed into the "fire."

NP 203: They can plant crime on anybody.

NP 218: Because I hate them when they start boasting about how and what they stole and the use they made of stealing. I might be forced to join them if I associated with them.

NP 225: I did not know them before. They might send me the wrong way.

It was, however, impossible for me to ascertain to what extent the pupils were criminalised through these interpersonal contacts, but I had the hunch that it was not too pronounced; for though the institutions were undifferentiated with regard to reasons for the institutionalisation of the pupils (types of offences committed), the ratio of the criminal to the non-criminal offenders in all the institutions was 11 to 14 (44% were criminal offenders and 56% were non-criminal offenders; the latter category was made up of 47 percent "care of protection" cases and 9 percent of "beyond parental control" cases). Further-more, it was not only that the criminal offenders were fewer than the non-criminal ones, but that their criminal offences were not very serious. Petty theft from parents, guardians, and relatives; and fighting were the criminal offences mostly committed. More-over, the criminal and the non-criminal offenders did not differ on most of the background and other variables measured. However, since these variables did not measure the source of their criminal learning within the institutions, it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty which group was responsible for the criminal socialisation through inter=personal contacts at the institutions, and to what extent; for criminal socialisation is an institutional phenomenon which might affect the inmates, no matter the degree of differentiation of and at the institutions.

9.1.4.2 Argot Knowledge

The existence of argot at the schools was something I did not expect to find, but I observed its use during the first phase of the fieldwork. When the pupils were asked to say if they had ever been given corporal punishment and to indicate how many times within a 12-month period, respondent NP 222 said he had received the ewa stick.

Literally, the ewa stick is a long, hard, cylindrically-shaped piece of wood used in stirring beans while they are being boiled. But it was observed that the pupil, in that context, used the ewa stick to stand for the whip or cane. I had to explore briefly the existence of the argot when I revisited Schools 2 and 4.

From the answers to a few unstructured questions put to the pupils and the informal discussions held with them, the following facts emerged. First, argot knowledge was not possessed by all the pupils. Two variables, i.e. time spent at the schools and membership in an "inner circle" of the pupil group appeared to be crucial in the acquisition of the argot. As to the former variable, two pupils had the following to say about it:

--- Yes, they speak (i.e. they use the argot), but since I have not stayed long, I do not know most of them.

--- There are some slangs. But I have just come to this school, so I do not know them.

Bondeson (1968a, p. 92) has shown the relationship between time and pupils' knowledge of argot.

It can thus be said that the inmates' knowledge of argot increases with the time they have spent in the training school, regardless of such other simultaneously varying background factors as previous deviancy, age, and intelligence. The results support the hypothesis that the inmates of the training school are socialized into a criminal subculture.

With regard to status and argot, it was observed that all the prefects (the elite of the pupil group) in my study knew most of the slangs. The prefects were then asked to pick out their close associates among the other pupils who were covered in the interview, and it turned out that the closer a pupil was to a prefect, the more acquainted he was with the argot.

Below, I present a sample of the argot used. The word will be covered with inverted commas if it is a "foreign" word, but underlined if it is a Yoruba word (Yoruba is the language of the natives of the Western and Lagos States in Nigeria). The aim of presenting these words is to show that the "content analysis" of them points to their criminalising effects. Most of the words have conflict and negative connotations, while some are used to indicate the participation in criminal activities.

"Kas:"	A warning to the boys smoking at the approach of an officer.
<u>Olojo:</u>	Denoting a squealer. This is another word used as a warning when an officer is approaching. In other words, officers are seen as 'rats.'
"Cargo:"	Denotes a squealer. This time, a pupil who rats, not a staff member.
"Kasino:"	Used when a kitchen raid is about to begin. It is also a word used to assemble the group for the operation.
<u>Bude; enwon; "fire:"</u>	Used when an article is to be stolen. 'Enwon' is the deepest and most fashionable of the three words.
<u>O tina:</u>	The person who is daff (foolish); applied to officers.
<u>Tempere:</u>	Derogatory term for an officer.
"Kondi:"	Garri (food-stuff) put into beans. This was an unpopular diet among pupils.
<u>Isu:</u>	In normal Yoruba language, it means 'yam' (a tuberous root used for food) or loaf. But homosexuals at the schools use it to denote the buttocks of their homosexual partners.

9.2 Negative Institutional Effects and the
 "Weighing Process"

It could be possible that the writer might have exaggerated the negative institutional effects of the institutions; for the answers to a direct question which asked the pupils to indicate how they had been influenced by the schools, (see table 9.4 below) tended to give a fairly different picture, particularly with regard to the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools.

As shown in table 9.4, ninety-one percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils felt that the schools had helped them much. There was almost a consensus among all the schools as far as this belief was concerned; the only school which had less than 90 percent of its pupils holding this belief was School 1, where the percentage was 82.

None of the pupils at the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools believed that the schools had helped him much. But there was a difference, though not statistically significant, between Schools 6 and 7. While only 5 percent of the pupils of School 6 said that the school had helped them a little, as many as 26 percent of School 7 pupils believed that the school had helped them a little. As many as 30 percent of School 6 pupils, but only 13 percent of School 7 pupils indicated that the schools had hurt them a lot.

Sixty-nine percent of the pupils from the Remand Homes said that the Homes had helped them much; 18 percent felt that they had helped them a little; 2 percent believed they had neither helped nor hurt them; 4 percent indicated that they had hurt them a little; while 6 percent answered that they had hurt them a lot. There was a statistical significant difference between the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools and the Remand Homes at the 0.1% level, using the chi-square test with one degree of freedom.

The pattern that had crystalised in this essay of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils having the most positive attitude to the schools; followed by the pupils from the Remand Homes; with the Swedish Youth Welfare School pupils being the least positive was also clearly evident in the "help-hurt scale."

Table 9.4 Influence of School on the Pupil (FIII:52)

	Nigeria							Sweden			
	Schools	1	2	3	4	5	2+4	1-5	6	7	6+7
N		51	34	33	30	32	64	180	40	23	63
Helps me much		82	94	94	97	91	95	91	0	0	0
Helps me a little		8	0	3	0	9	0	4	5	26	13
Neither helps nor hurts		0	0	0	3	0	2	1	18	13	16
Both helps and hurts		6	3	0	0	0	2	2	13	22	16
Hurts me a little		0	3	3	0	0	2	1	35	26	32
Hurts me a lot		2	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	13	24
No answer		2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
		100	100	100	100	100	101	101	101	100	101

$$1 - 5 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 1 - 4; 5 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 1 - 4 = \text{N.S.}, \quad 2+4 \text{ \& } 1+3+5 = \text{N.S.}$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 4 = \text{N.S.},$$

$$6 \text{ \& } 7 = \text{N.S.},$$

$$2 \text{ \& } 6 = \chi^2 (1) = 58.9 = P < 0.1\%; \quad 4 \text{ \& } 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 29.1 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$2 + 4 \text{ \& } 6 + 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 87.1 = P < 0.1\%$$

$$1 - 5 \text{ \& } 6 - 7 = \chi^2 (1) = 162.82 = P < 0.1\%$$

Why was it that despite the negative institutional effects, 95 percent of the Nigerian Youth Welfare School pupils; 87 percent of the pupils from the Remand Homes; and 13 percent of those from the Swedish Welfare Schools believed that the institutions had either helped them much or helped them a little? It might not be easy to account for this apparent contradiction, for there might have been an inter-play of a number of factors.

In the first place, the over-all social climate at the institutions might have indirectly influenced the pupils' judgment. It appeared that the more cordial and informal the relationships between the pupils and the teachers and the more positive the pupils were to the institutions, the more they felt that the institutions had helped them much or helped them a little.

Secondly, the answers might have been to some extent normatively stereo-typed; that is to say that the pupils might have taken on the official ideology regarding treatment. The traditional respect for authority and the aged in the Nigerian society might have reinforced considerably the Nigerian Pupils' support for the official treatment ideology.

The respect for the aged is so deep-rooted in traditional societies that it merits a fairly detailed discussion here. Rule 9 at Lomo's house, in Djoleto's novel, The Strange Man (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., Ibadan, 1968, p. 96) stipulates:

No boy has the right to attempt to argue either with Aunt Adzoa or with myself (Lomo). Both of us know what is good for all of you and what we say is final.

The "Lomo case" above could be taken as an example of what J. Murdock⁵⁾ has termed 'simple elder rule.' He reported of the Point Barrow Eskimo:

"Respect for the opinion of the elders is so great that the people may be said to be practically under what is called 'simple elder rule.'"

5) MURDOCK, J., "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," ARBAE. Vol. IX. 1887 - 88, p. 427, quoted in Simmons (1947, p. 114).

Conton recorded in page 29 of his novel, The African, (Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., Ibadan, 1969), a telling account of this extreme deference accorded the aged in traditional societies. A municipal councillor and an alder-man of seventy-three years were invited by the Debating Society of a Secondary School at Sagresa (a fictitious town in West Africa) to take part in their debate. The principal and senior prefect were then said to have asked the whole school to pay due regard to the status of the two guest speakers, and warned the students not to seize the opportunity to attack municipal old men generally. Conton commented:

The warning was heeded, and our guests were heard with deference. Perhaps the warning was unnecessary, for Africans generally have a deep and ingrained respect for old age, and even when we can find nothing to admire in an old man, we will not easily forget that his grey hairs have earned him the right to courtesy and politeness.

However, the amount and quality of respect given to elders differed from one traditional society to the other and from one time period to the other; as such it is not safe to generalise. In some societies, the ascribed status of age has to be combined with some achieved status before full recognition and respect are accorded the aged. However, in many cases, the two statuses seem to go hand in hand. As a result of the experience of the aged, they come to be familiar with some important societal ceremonies and rites of passage. Some of them have vast knowledge of magic and religion; some of them are very active and shrewd in political matters; while others specialise in child-care.

It should be pointed out, nonetheless, that in some traditional societies in the past, there was not always the complete monopoly of power by the aged, for in some of them, young people with special abilities or those endowed with special natural gifts were co-opted into the "elderly grades" and asked to advise the elders on their specialities.

In contemporary traditional societies, the respect accorded the aged is diminishing as their roles in those societies are becoming less important because of certain changes in the societal values, structures, and organisations as a result of the influence of alien culture. For instance, where once the medicine men were all-powerful, nowadays, the hospitals have taken over most of their jobs. The roles of the Village Heads as peace-makers have passed to some impersonal governmental institutions.

x x x x x x

Let us return to the task of trying to resolve the apparent contradiction between the positive and negative institutional effects on the pupils. We had earlier touched on the over-all social climate at the institutions, and the normatively stereo-typed answers of the pupils. The third factor might be a "weighing process." The pupils might have adopted a type of "weighing process" in arriving at their decisions. They might have felt the negative institutional influences, but these might have been neutralised by the positive ones. The pupils, especially those from the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools might have genuinely believed that the schools had really helped them; for most of them said that their institutionalisation was appropriate since they were given vocational training, formal education, and character training. They enjoyed their vocational training and believed in its usefulness, and rated their prospects after leaving the Youth Welfare Schools as being very good. The staff were seen as parental figures by the pupils. The pupils believed that the staff were very fair to and greatly interested in them.

9.3 Summary

From the discussions above, it appeared that the schools did not reflect the culture of the larger society in certain aspects. We noticed the rather high incidence of homosexuality at the schools;

the different forms of mortification of the self suffered by the pupils; and the stigmatisation, both real and imagined thought to be placed on the pupils as a result of belonging to a minority group that has been labelled by the dominant society.

Certain practicable measures were suggested for the reduction or elimination of some of the negative institutional effects. More "open-days" (day-leaves) granted pupils was thought to be helpful in the reduction of homosexual practices at the schools. The installation of water system latrines in all the Nigerian institutions or the award of contracts for the disposal of human refuse to contractors in the larger society would release the pupils from the engagement in such menial duties which had engendered a feeling of debasement in them.

However, it was feared that the author might have exaggerated the extent of the negative institutional effects, for it was noticed that despite these negative effects, most of the Nigerian pupils, particularly those from the Youth Welfare Schools believed that the institutions had either helped them much or helped them a little.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will attempt to bring together very briefly the major findings and observations of this thesis. It was earlier pointed out that mere curiosity led me to the investigation of the juvenile institutions in Nigeria. This information is worth repeating here because there is sometimes a difference in the perception of the researcher and his methods of approach depending on whether the research is governmentally or privately sponsored. The major advantage with the privately sponsored type of research is that the researcher is not "forced" to take directives from the one who sponsored the investigation, and is thereby in a position to carry out his investigations independently and freely.

However, I must add that even though I carried out the survey without official interference, that a few highly placed officials were reluctant to allow me enter the institutions. It took a long time and much of bureaucratic red-tapes were gone through before I was allowed to re-enter two of the schools in one State in Nigeria. The most surprising thing was that the same high officials who were there during my first visit were the ones still in office during the second visit, yet numerous obstacles were put in my way.

The situation was even worse at one school in Sweden. When I contacted the Principal of this school, he expressed his willingness to allow me enter the school on the condition that I got a clearance order from the Ministry of Social Welfare in Stockholm. The permission was granted me, but the Principal then refused to let me into the institution.

Why are these Youth Welfare Schools, particularly in Nigeria, treated as "out-of-bounds" places even for those who have genuine reasons for wishing to enter them? Could the "shrine-like" protective approach be due to the fear of the officials that the "dirty linens" from the institutions might be washed in the public?

Let us leave the difficulties encountered in entering the schools, and examine the genesis of the juvenile institutions in Nigeria. Serious governmental involvement in juvenile reformatory work dated from the early 1940s. Before this time, juvenile delinquents and destitutes were cared for mostly by Christian bodies, private organisations, some local authorities, and philanthropic individuals. With the governmental take-over, came uniformities in policies and administration.

In Nigeria, just as in most other African and European countries, juvenile delinquency is an urban phenomenon. Ninety-six percent of the pupils studied by me committed their offences in the cities, while only 4 percent engaged in their deviant acts in the villages. However, juvenile delinquency does not seem to be a serious problem in the country. It has been shown that most of the pupils committed their offences alone; that the majority of them committed only one offence each; and that the type of offences committed were minor ones that they engaged in accidentally. We observed that the delinquent acts of the children arose mostly from social and environmental factors.

Certain theories were examined to see which one would explain best the types of juvenile delinquency in Nigeria. I came to the conclusion that no one theory seemed to be sufficient to account for juvenile delinquency in the country; therefore, the theory of multiple causation was adopted. The offence most frequently committed by those children who were institutionalised for criminal offences was petty theft from parents, guardians, and relatives. The theory of deprivation was used to account for this type of offence. I argued that the children had to steal in order to satisfy their needs, since they were not sufficiently provided for through the legitimate means. It was seen that the pupils' stealing was directed and purposeful; that most of them who stole did so for the intrinsic value of the stolen objects.

Besides the criminal offenders who formed about 44 percent of the pupil-sample, there were 47 percent care or protection cases and 9 percent of beyond parental control cases. The care or protection and the beyond control cases were usually made up of those pupils who were found wandering, and those who have absconded from the schools in the dominant society and their parents' or guardians' homes. The pupils who absconded from schools complained about uninteresting work at the school; punishment at school; and the lack of motivation on the pupils' side. It was further observed that high parental pressure on the pupils for educational achievement was one of the causes for the abscondings of the pupils from the school. I therefore hypothesised that for those children who lacked the motivation or the capabilities, the psychological pressure might be too much for them to bear that the urge to escape from it all through abscondings might be one solution for them.

Certain preventive measures might seem practicable in the reduction of abscondings from the ordinary schools in the dominant society. First, there might be the need to continue to reverse the school syllabus, making its contents more practical and interesting. Secondly, the conditions of service of teachers should be improved and they should be accorded higher status in the society. These measures might help retain able teachers in the profession, who might otherwise have used teaching as a stepping-stone to other occupations. Thirdly, the establishment of the position of an "attendance officer" might be called for at the schools. His main duty will be to track down the absconding pupils or and their parents. And lastly, a greater co-ordination of the roles of the homes and the school might improve the home-school socialisation of the pupils.

Ill-treatment from parents and guardians, especially step-mothers seemed to be one of the major causes of the abscondings from the homes. The relationships between the pupils and their step-mothers were often

very uncordial. With regard to these children under the negative influence from the step-mothers, it might be worth-while to explore whether it is feasible to encourage them to go to the Social Welfare Office whenever they are in any "step-mother qualms" to lay a complaint, and if possible, choose the parent or guardian or "fit person" (foster parent) with whom they would like to live.

As for the beyond parental control cases, I have argued that the category is debatable. Too much or too little of parental control seemed to have been responsible for the "unruly nature" of some of the children. Sometimes the children's side of the story is not listened to. Some adults still believe in the dictum that children are to be seen and not heard. Parents and adults should try and stop treating the pupils as "no persons."

It might seem, judging from the answers of the pupils, that some parents in Nigeria have started passing on their parental duties more and more to the State, the Youth Welfare Schools being used as dumping grounds for the pupils. Section 35, sub-sections 1 and 2 of Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria, Vol. I, 1959, p. 332 gives the conditions for the contribution by parents or guardians towards the maintenance of juveniles:

--- Whenever a child or young person has been committed to an approved institution or to the care of an individual and the court is satisfied that the need for such an order has arisen from neglect on the part of his parents or step-parents or guardians, the court may order any such person or persons to make contributions in respect of him.

--- Provided that in making such an order the court shall have regard to the means of the person ordered to contribute:

--- Provided further that no person shall be ordered to contribute a sum exceeding four pounds a month.

As a deterrence to some parents and guardians from declaring frivolously their children and wards as being beyond their control, an increase in the amount of contributions might be suggested.

The stated objectives of the juvenile institutions in Nigeria are the observation, care or protection, reformation, and the rehabilitation of the pupils. The stated objectives of the institutions in Nigeria and Sweden are similar, for in the latter country, the establishments are for the care, upbringing and education of certain children and young persons who have been taken care of by the Child Welfare Boards.

The institutions adopted certain strategies, such as, physical training; contacts with outside peer-groups; contacts with parents, guardians, and relatives; religious training; formal education; and vocational training to achieve their stated objectives. Of all the strategies used, vocational training appeared, particularly at the Nigerian Vocational Schools to be the most popular, and effective. Ninety-seven percent of the Vocational School pupils in Nigeria and 73 percent of their counter-parts in Sweden said they enjoyed the vocational training. As many as 97 percent of the Nigerian pupils, but only 35 percent of their opposite numbers in Sweden believed in the usefulness of the occupational and work training.

Vocational training has given much meaning to the Vocational Schools' existence in Nigeria, and the staff members, the After-Care Officers, and the pupils themselves rated as either very good or rather good the pupils' prospects after leaving the institutions, and attributed their optimistic views to their belief in the rehabilitative role of the work training. For the Nigerian Vocational School boys, the vocational training appeared to have influenced their time-perspective positively, that is, by making it possible for them to see the period of training as time that was well spent, thereby regarding the duration of care as not being too long.

The informal social relationships at the institutions were examined. At the Remand Homes¹⁾, and the Youth Welfare Schools²⁾ in both Nigeria and Sweden, there was a high level of loyalty, solidarity, and interaction among the pupils. At the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, antagonism and the staff-inmate split often thought to exist at total institutions were absent. The social distance between the pupils and the staff was not great. The staff were regarded by the pupils as helpers and parental figures. A genuine concern was shown by the pupils for the welfare not only of the other pupils, but also the staff members at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools. At the Remand Homes, the pupils were not as positive to the staff as the pupils from the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools. The Swedish Youth Welfare School pupils had less cordial relationships with the staff than either the pupils from the Remand Homes or those from the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools.

At the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools, the social control of the pupils was achieved through the use of a triple compliance structure (a combination of normative, coercive, and utilitarian powers). The positive social sanctions included praise; numerous forms of incentives, such as making the well-behaved pupils captains of prefects; the privilege given pupils to attend Village Schools; participation in extra-mural activities of one kind or the other; etc.

Although discipline was not a serious problem at the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria, those few pupils who misbehaved were given some punishments which included manual labour, isolation, ration reduction, deprivation of privileges, and corporal punishment.

1) The Remand Homes are institutions in which the pupils are detained until their cases are heard by the juvenile courts. They also accommodate those pupils whom the juvenile courts have ordered to be detained.

2) In Nigeria, the Youth Welfare Schools which are comprised of Vocational and Approved Schools are for the training of juvenile delinquents, "suspected" (potential) delinquents, and non-delinquents for whom institutional treatment have been recommended by the juvenile courts.

Corporal punishment was the most widely used of the negative sanctions in Nigeria. In Sweden, its use has been officially abolished and its illegal use could be said to have almost completely disappeared. Isolation and deprivation of privileges were more commonly used at the Swedish Schools than at the Nigerian ones.

The Nigerian pupils did not complain bitterly about the reception of corporal punishment as one would have thought they would. Instead, they reacted more negatively to other non-physical types of punishment like collective punishment, isolation, deprivation of privileges, etc. The fact that the Nigerian pupils did not resent the reception of corporal punishment so much might be due to the fact that its use at the schools did not appear to differ markedly from the practice both at the pupils' homes and at the ordinary schools in the dominant society. Besides, the staff were seen by the Nigerian pupils as being very fair to and greatly interested in them; and of being consistent in their application of disciplinary measures. Furthermore, since the staff were regarded by the pupils as parental surrogates, they did not feel that it was something too bad to be flogged by the staff (who represented their parents and guardians who might have applied similar measures) as long as the flogging was not too severe or unjustly awarded.

A very effective social control function was performed by certain informal social control mechanisms at the Nigerian Schools. The Dormitory or House System and the "Boys' Council" fostered a type of self-government among the pupils. The prefects/captains (group-leaders), through a system of collaboration with the staff helped in making the administration of the schools easier. However, in order to have a meaningful feed-back in this system of self-government among the pupils, I have suggested the introduction of a cultural element into the system by establishing the position of an 'elembudsman' (pupils' "solicitor" or adviser) or a Liaison Officer who will be the mouth-piece of the pupils in important institutional matters.

The most serious charges often brought against the institutional method of the treatment of offenders are the high rate of recidivism, the enormous building and maintenance costs, and the prisonisation and criminalisation of the offenders while undergoing "treatment." Clinard & Abbott (1973, p. 244) observe about correctional institutions in general:

In fact, the most hardened criminals appear to be "produced" by the prison system. Research has indicated that men in prison are trained in more sophisticated crimes, at state expense, that homosexuality is rampant, and that the prison environment itself has a degrading effect on them. Isolated from relatives, friends, and their communities, they lose their initiative and become embittered and filled with hatred for society.

The observation above is a very fair summary of the negative institutional effects that were noted with regard to the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria. The pupils, the staff, and the general public felt that pupils who have been to juvenile institutions would be negatively perceived by the society. At all the Youth Welfare Schools for boys in Nigeria, homosexuality was practised. The pupils' selves might have been mortified by the staff through the verbal vilification of the pupils and the pupils' significant others; the award of degradatory occupations; and the assault on the personal identity of some of the pupils by the application of personal disfigurement. Criminal socialisation of some pupils was thought to have taken place.

From the exposition above, it appears that the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria are in a dialectical dilemma; for it seems that as they solve certain problems (unemployment among juveniles; inability of the pupils to settle down; lack of care or protection; etc.), other problems, such as homosexuality, and the assault on the personal identity of the pupils arise.

I am submitting that the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria have partially failed. For instance, several authors have discussed whether the subcultures observed within correctional institutions are indigenous to the institutions or are imported from the outside community, see for example, Irwin & Cressey (1962), and Cline & Wheeler (1968).

In my study, it was found that the juvenile institutions in Nigeria partly reflected the culture of the dominant society, and partly failed to mirror the culture of the larger society.

The pupils respected age and authority and showed mutual concern for the well-being of others at the institutions. These are some of the examples which indicated that the institutions portrayed the culture of the outside society.

On the other hand, certain subcultural practices perpetrated at the institutions, for instance, some homosexuality and argot among the pupils were indigenous institutional phenomena which did not depict the culture of the dominant society.

In order to remove the dysfunctions of the schools while retaining their positive functions, the need to look for functional alternatives and functional substitutes appears to be urgent. In the search for functional alternatives, changes should be made in the system during a transitional period, and there-after, functional substitutes should be found for the system. This then, is a change of the system.

During a transitional period prior to the change of the system, the following measures might be adopted to effect a change in the system. First, changing the schools from Boarding to Day establishments. This might help reduce, or even totally eliminate homosexuality at the schools, for while the pupils are in the outside community, certain social, psychological, and physical mechanisms might help them over-come their homosexual inclinations.

Secondly, there should be an increase and improvement in institutional facilities. The improvement in the institutional architecture in some of these schools might be of some help. For instance, the installation of water-system latrines will relieve pupils from having to do the menial work of manually disposing of the human refuse. Or if the monetary resources are not sufficient or available, an alternative arrangement should be made, whereby contracts are entered into with outside adult conservancy workers who take on the job voluntarily.

Thirdly, the official policy in the recruitment of workers (staff) for the schools should be re-examined. It might be customary for a work of this nature, dealing with an agricultural society in the main, to recommend the training or further training of the staff. But in the Nigerian situation, since most of the children are not too heavily saddled with criminality, I think the type of teacher training that most of the staff have got, plus the refresher courses which many of them have undergone could be regarded as being fairly adequate for their work. Moreover, when I examined the attitudes and perspectives of the staff with high education and those with low education, there was not much difference between the groups. It might be that the "wash-out" effect could account to a great extent for the non-differentiation of both groups. Perrow (1971, p. 176) has shown the operation of the "wash-out" mechanism, where the rules, structure, and techniques of an institution made recent employees change their opinions drastically after their appointment and share the views of the other personnel.

The appointment of personnel who are interested in social work, devoted to their work, and respectful of the dignity of man might help in the reduction of the assault on the pupils' identities. The personnel found unsuitable after appointment should be given inter-departmental transfers, or sent to other sections of the Social Welfare Ministry where they will work with things mostly and not with people.

In the fourth place, there is the need to have personnel of both sexes working in all the schools. This might help bring about some naturalness in the environment and contribute to the social and normative stabilisation of the schools. The time is long passed when puritanical considerations hindered the progress of some schools in Nigeria. Nowadays, in the dominant society, many more schools are now co-educational, and the few that are only for girls have both female and male teachers on the staff list.

My fifth recommendation calls for a sustained positive propaganda about the Youth Welfare Schools, because right now, the general public does not seem to know much about these schools. This education of the public is important if the change of the system which is to follow the change in the system is to be effective. All the State Governments should endeavour to make it easy for genuinely interested citizens who have good reasons to enter the schools, do so. The "shrine-like" atmosphere surrounding the schools should be dispelled. More contacts of the Youth Welfare Schools with the outside community might be essential. These schools should compete more often with the outside schools and the latter schools should be encouraged to come to the compounds of the former for athletic, drama, or other forms of competitions.

Sixth, I feel that it might help a great deal if the status of social work and workers is increased in the country and the conditions of service of these workers improved. This will make it possible to retain the services of dedicated, qualified, and able workers.

Lastly, during this interim period, i.e. between the change in the system and the change of the system, the government should train many more After-Care and Probation Officers. Many foster-parents should be recruited and trained well in advance of the change of the system.

My major recommendation, however, is that there should be a change OF the system. Institutional treatment, in my own view, has failed because despite some positive results from the schools, there were certain disturbing subcultural practices perpetrated at the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools. It might be a good thing if the society makes fuller use of the traditional fostering system.

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Fostering as an extra-mural form of the treatment of juveniles in Nigeria has been recognised by the "Children and Young Persons (Supervision of Individual) Regulations," whose provision in paragraph 8, of (Laws of the Western Region of Nigeria, Vol. I. Government Press, Ibadan, 1959, p. 348), deserves special attention because it eliminates the danger of fostering degenerating into a type of "institutionalisation." The paragraph in question stipulates that:

Not more than two foster-children shall be boarded out in the same home at the same time unless they are members of one family whom it is desirable to keep together.

No matter whether fostering goes under the heading "supervision of individuals," or "fit person order," it appears that full use is not being made of it (fostering) in Nigeria. Most of the pupils at the Youth Welfare Schools in Nigeria are suitable materials for fostering. Take for example, the two "non-offending" care or protection cases who were placed at the Youth Welfare Schools just because their parents or guardians were going away on active military service. The care or protection cases, the beyond parental control cases, and even most of the so-called criminal offenders are good fostering products; for there were no differences between the criminal and the non-criminal offenders, apart from the type of offence committed, when I tried to establish the differences between these two groups at the schools. Both groups were positive to the staff and the establishments. The two groups showed high rate of interaction, loyalty, and solidarity among the pupils, etc.

My final submission, therefore, is that Nigeria should build more on the firm traditional foundation already existing in the society. This is the ethic of reciprocity which has been modified to suit modern demands and conditions. The ethic of reciprocity referred to above, is not the "scratch my back and I scratch yours" type. It is the one based on the ability of the giver, the need of the receiver, the non-expectation of re-payment by the giver, and the principle of not letting the left hand know what good the right hand has done.

In traditional Nigeria, those people who had the means fostered the children of near and distant relatives, friends, and even the offsprings of strangers. The non-expectation of repayment by the giver was a highly esteemed value in the society. The principle of giving, without "broadcasting" the benevolence, was a value extremely appreciated by the citizens. For instance, in my own little community in Nigeria, a short verse is used as an early morning praise by the elderly people in the village of Owoe Ogene, the goddess of a near-by lake, who was believed to be a very generous benefactress because of the abundance of fishes often caught in the lake during on and off seasons:

"Owoe Ogene, Ogene" who often prepares feasts for us
 The beautiful lady who gives us without reminding us
 of her patronage
 The kind-hearted lady, who instead of recounting
 her past benevolences
 Bestows new favours on us.

APPENDIXThe Different Comparative Permutations Applied in
the National and Cross-National Comparative Design

1 - 5	= All the 5 Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools
1 - 4; 5	= The 4 Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools for boys; and the Nigerian Vocational School for girls
1 - 4	= The 4 Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools for boys
2+4 & 1+3+5	= The 2 Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools which were compared with the two Swedish Youth Welfare Schools; and the remaining 3 Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools
2 & 4	= A Nigerian Vocational School and a Nigerian Approved School (these are the Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools which were compared with their Swedish counterparts)
6 & 7	= A Swedish Vocational School and a Swedish Approved School (these are the Swedish Youth Welfare Schools which were compared with their Nigerian counterparts)
2 & 6	= A Nigerian Vocational School and a Swedish Vocational School
4 & 7	= A Nigerian Approved School and a Swedish Approved School
1 - 5 & 6 - 7	= The 5 Nigerian Youth Welfare Schools; and the 2 Swedish Youth Welfare Schools

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Abbreviations of publications/periodicals/reviews:

<u>AJS</u>	= American Journal of Sociology
<u>ASR</u>	= American Sociological Review
<u>BJC</u>	= The British Journal of Criminology
<u>BJS</u>	= The British Journal of Sociology
<u>IAC</u>	= International Annals of Criminology
<u>IRCP</u>	= International Review of Criminal Policy
<u>ISSR</u>	= International Social Science Review
<u>SOU</u>	= "Statens Offentliga Utredningar"

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